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THE PROCEEDINGS OF
C.O.P.E.C.

*C.O.P.E.C. COMMISSION
REPORTS*

- VOLUME I. THE NATURE OF GOD AND HIS
PURPOSE FOR THE WORLD
- „ II. EDUCATION
- „ III. THE HOME
- „ IV. THE RELATION OF THE SEXES
- „ V. LEISURE
- „ VI. THE TREATMENT OF CRIME
- „ VII. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
- „ VIII. CHRISTIANITY AND WAR
- „ IX. INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY
- „ X. POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP
- „ XI. THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF
THE CHURCH
- „ XII. HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS
OF THE SOCIAL EFFECTS
OF CHRISTIANITY

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF C.O.P.E.C.

*Being a Report of the Meetings of the Conference
on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship,
held in Birmingham, April 5—12, 1924*

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FOREWORD

To edit the "Proceedings of Copec" is itself something of a Christian Adventure! The aim has been high but perilous—to be severe in compression in order to make publication at all practicable, yet somehow to convey through the medium of cold print the actual substance and spirit of the Conference. In one or two instances the opening speeches have been given verbatim, since nothing else was possible, even to the sternest editor: matter and form were indivisible. For the others there has been pruning to the quick, but the words which remain are the speakers' own, and it is hoped that nothing essential has been dropped. Every effort has been made to present fairly the contributions made in discussion, and if any feel that in his or her particular case that effort has failed, I hope that the miracle of fellowship wrought by the Spirit when we were together may still prevail.

WILL REASON

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BASIS

THE basis of this Conference is the conviction that the Christian faith, rightly interpreted and consistently followed, gives the vision and the power essential for solving the problems of to-day, that the social ethics of Christianity have been greatly neglected by Christians with disastrous consequences to the individual and to society, and that it is of the first importance that these should be given a clearer and more persistent emphasis. In the teaching and work of Jesus Christ there are certain fundamental principles—such as the universal Fatherhood of God with its corollary that mankind is God's family, and the law "that whoso loseth his life, findeth it"—which, if accepted, not only condemn much in the present organisation of society, but show the way of regeneration. Christianity has proved itself to possess also a motive power for the transformation of the individual, without which no change of policy or method can succeed. In the light of its principles the constitution of society, the conduct of industry, the upbringing of children, national and international politics, the personal relations of men and women, in fact all human relationships, must be tested. It is hoped that through this Conference the Church may win a fuller understanding of its Gospel, and hearing a clear call to practical action may find courage to obey.

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OPENING MEETING IN THE TOWN HALL SUNDAY AFTERNOON

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

After the hymn, "All people that on earth do dwell," the CHAIRMAN said :

"We meet this afternoon to dedicate the whole purpose and scheme of this Conference to Almighty God. The fundamental aim of the Conference is that we may receive a new realisation of God, especially in relation to those phases of life from which any direct reference to God has usually of late been excluded. We are to discuss a great number of difficult and complex subjects ; but in all this our aim and hope is a fresh realisation of God.

"Therefore at this first meeting of the Conference in the few words that I am to say I would recall your minds to the thought of God's absolute and all-embracing sovereignty. He reigns : and

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His supremacy is never shaken. He has given us freedom, and we may ignore or defy His sovereignty ; but even our defiance of it is within the limits which it prescribes. His law is never set aside. We may offend against the law of an earthly state and suffer no penalties, because we escape detection. But from the operation of the law of God there is no escape. We are familiar with this in the physical sphere ; we believe it, yet we scarcely realise it, in the moral sphere. In each we are free to choose ; but the issue of our choice is determined by laws which we do not make. A man who stands on the edge of a cliff is free to choose whether or not he will jump over ; but if he does, he is not free to choose whether or not he will fall to the bottom. The law of gravitation works. In just the same way a man may stand before a moral choice ; he is free to choose selfishly if he pleases ; but if he does, he is not free to avert or escape the disaster which that choice must involve for himself or for others. The moral law works. And this is true in great things as in small ; it is true of nations as of individuals. The law of God is not evaded or abrogated. His sovereignty suffers no diminution. His Kingdom in this fundamental sense is a permanent and unalterable reality.

“ But no lawgiver desires the infliction of penalty on those who break his law ; his desire is for obedience to the law. So too the Sovereign God is not satisfied that His authority should be vindicated against those who would ignore or defy it ; His desire is that men should accept His holy Will, in which alone is their peace. And in this sense His King-

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dom is not yet come, and we have to work, as we are taught to pray, for its coming.

“So we try to realise a little more fully than we or our fathers have done what is that holy Will for us and our generation. It means that we must study the facts of contemporary life, and the challenge which on many sides is offered to our civilisation. But above all things it means the opening of our hearts and minds to God in the humility which drives out personal predilections and prejudices. We seek to stand together in the presence of Almighty God that we may hear and answer His call.

“At this opening meeting, therefore, we do not yet brace our minds to hard problems, or our wills to difficult and self-abnegating tasks. That must come if our enterprise is not to end in failure. At present we seek God Himself, the Almighty Love, praying that He will accept and perfect our dedication of ourselves to His service.”

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER said :

“I will begin with three mottoes : the first from Lord Grey : ‘You must learn or perish.’ The second from Mr. H. G. Wells : ‘Human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.’ The third, ‘Take My yoke upon you and learn of Me.’

“This Conference is a unique opportunity for co-operative discipleship. Church and nation owe a great debt to those who conceived the idea and have given time and thought to the organising,

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preparation of Reports and in other ways. It is a demonstration that the Church is waking up to the social implications of her message; that a vital part of our evangelisation abroad is the Christianising of conditions at home; that unless the Church can provide a spiritual basis for our twentieth-century civilisation its days are numbered; and that although the Churches are not yet united in matters of faith and order, yet in pressing the way of Christ in things of citizenship, politics and economics reunion is an accomplished fact. ‘Si monumentum requiris——!’

“The last century afforded an object lesson of catastrophe overtaking education. The catastrophe of an exaggerated nationalism, leading to war; of an untempered industrialism bringing strife; of exaggerated social distinctions resulting in lack of fellowship in community life. All these were due to neglect of the spiritual. Super-nationalism sought power instead of culture; super-industrialism had no thought-out relation between men, money and machinery; class distinctions made the test of gentility not character but balance at a bank.

“All this calls for a fresh epoch-making; we must regain the spiritual outlook, ‘see life steadily and see it whole.’ We have our Diehards, our Cocksures, both those who defend the *status quo* and those who would pull everything down; we have old Mr. Prejudice and his sixty deaf men wandering around. But we have two irresistible motives for discipleship—the mistakes of the past and the opportunities for the future.

“In every generation there have been members of this glorious company of disciples, with ideas

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ahead of their times whom later generations have vindicated. We have had in the past those like Hugh Latimer and Thomas More; in the last century Maurice, Kingsley, Westcott, Wilberforce, Lord Shaftesbury. Disciples are not wanting to-day. We have our Schools of Social Service and other co-operative disciples within the Churches, seeking to learn the Mind of God. But, can we ascertain the Mind of God? As Christians we affirm our faith that God has actually broken into the world. He has gone out of His way to unveil His mind. It is ascertainable in Christ.

“With Christ the spiritual is central. Not that He was indifferent to physical needs, but He taught the infinite value of each human life. With this went the paramount necessity of fellowship: love of God and love of our neighbour. He gave a revaluation of life; the costly things were seen to be cheap, the humbler of supreme value. Goods must be estimated by their contribution to character. He invites every generation to learn of Him. We are here to respond.

“The Church has never been wholly unmindful of this lesson, nor is the Church to-day wholly unmindful. Think of the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference, about the sovereignty of Christ both in individual and social relations, the establishment of international good-will, law and custom, the change of spirit needed in industrial relations, regarding the common good and human values as above considerations of money gain, and calling upon Christians to be foremost in all this. That is really the way in which to be truly up to date.

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“To learn this lesson means co-operation with the very nature of things. Material success has come this way. The cause of our spiritual failure has been the refusal of obedience to equally definitely revealed laws of human life. To live according to God’s mind is to have access to God’s resources. We must seek a present inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the spirit both of Truth and of Power.”

Dr. Woods concluded with an impressive recital of the “Veni Creator.”

Miss LUCY GARDNER said :

“ ‘ Here let me rest ere I be gone
Once more—in my adventure—brave and new,
Fearless and unperplexed when I wage battle
next,
What weapons to select—what armour to
endue.’ ”

“When these words first came to me, thinking what I should say, I rejected them as likely to cause a smile of derision. We are not gathered here to rest, nor are we unperplexed. But sometimes words stay in our minds until we see quite other meanings than the obvious. I am not sure that we are not here to rest. At any rate we are called apart from our daily avocations to give ourselves entirely to a great adventure in fellowship—to forget our conventions, our apartness, our prejudices; to count them as dross if we may win Christ and learn His way and His mind. “Come ye apart and rest awhile” was surely not an invitation to do nothing,

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but to do something sweeter, truer and saner than the turmoil of life provided. The pressure of the hungry multitude made it impossible to sit apart for long; as, truly, all here will find. But this one blessed week, given to us by God, may be to us a time of spiritual refreshment, in which we may pause, take stock and take courage, going forth again fearless and unperplexed to wage battle for the best we know.

“Can we be unperplexed in such a perplexing world? Will Copec solve any, not to say all, our problems? What I hope from Copec is the realisation of a new standard of values. We are so conventional, so apt to judge ourselves, our institutions, our laws, our industry, our personal relations by fixed standards. We are complacent, stereotyped, self-satisfied. It seems a natural result from our enormously increased power over natural forces, bringing greatly increased material comfort. Yet material ease and comfort do not satisfy men and women. They are always searching for something beyond. All who believe that the spiritual transcends the material—not despising but taking the material as the gift of God—must, if they are to lead the world, find the right use of this material, its real purpose, its real enrichment of life, its true relation to the spiritual.

“That is what Copec stands for; what is attempted in its Reports. People say that the Christian Churches must not mix themselves up with politics; that Copec is diverting them from their true business, the salvation of the souls of men. If we thought that we should not be here.

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But are we not truly about our Father's business when we seek to share the gifts of His beautiful world with all men?

“If the programme of the Conference seems over-full, it is because nothing is outside the Kingdom. All human relations must be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ. We are here to try the whole of our civilisation by a standard; to get a vision of what it might be; to set a wedge of endeavour and thought into the crust of conventional acquiescence that covers our common life and hinders God's work. The heart of humanity is true and sound and great; it is often such trivial, needless, unimportant things that form the crust, shutting sin in and God out. We want to go forth as crust-breakers, reaching out hands of fellowship and understanding, making possible the realisation of the Kingdom of God on earth. It is possible, but not on the basis of selfishness and apartness. It is a washing in Jordan we need; it is obedience to the little things He asks that alone can make possible this great change.

“When we all want the same thing, things get done. I want Copec to show that we do all want the same thing. In that setting we want to discuss the practical problems, each contributing his thoughts to the synthesis that transcends them all. We want to establish a norm of Christian thought and action for the further working out of a Christian order. This week we cannot do more than survey the field, making a few preliminary plans. We want, not to divide on detail, but to unite on principles. When together we see the vision we

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can discuss ways of realising it, but it is only great love and unity that can differ without loss. Sympathy and understanding with those with whom we do not agree are fundamental to carrying out the things we ourselves do see. We have one short week in which to realise this fellowship and see this vision; we have the rest of our lives in which to work it out.

“So we want from Copec, not a solution to all problems but a great fellowship of believers, men and women who will look each other in the face and say, ‘It will work! It really will! Jesus Christ was the most practical man that ever lived. His way is the only possible way of living and working together. We are pledged by all we hold sacred to join Him by trying to do His way.’

“Many things in the last three years have shown how hungrily men are waiting for some such message. Boys at a great school sent £1 from the ‘tuck-shop’ to help ‘heave in the Kingdom.’ Girls at another earned money for Copec by dull jobs, ‘because we were so thrilled about it all at the Albert Hall.’ An old man wrote, ‘I am eighty-three. I am too old to think, but I am praying and praising God for Copec.’ On the Commissions men and women have come together with widely differing views, believing that in the Light of Jesus Christ a common purpose could be found and have learnt together a truer and better way. I could tell of the far-reaching effect of the Study Circle work, of the self-sacrificing devotion of busy people, of the splendid staff at the Central Office. I have many beautiful things hidden in my heart that

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show what Copec means to people. So I have stressed the personal side. Copec has really made for itself a great fellowship of believers; a fellowship that will run through all our diverse lives like a thread of gold, enriching and beautifying the diverse patterns we are weaving. Not only in this country; in Ireland, Norway and Sweden, Holland, France, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, India, China, Australia, Canada and the United States our questionnaires have been studied, and best of all, people from these far countries are with us in person for our great Conference.

“So we set out on our great adventure, that will need all our courage, all our faith, all our hope, and above all, all our joy and love. It may mean leaving some things we hold dear; it may mean entering into the sorrows of a world we have not before known; it may mean—anything. May God give us all vision to find out what is for us. Only one thing counts—Love, and Love which is God is everywhere, if we will but see it.

“By this, O Singer, know we if thou see.

When men shall say to thee : Lo, Christ is here !

When men shall say to thee : Lo, Christ is there !

Believe them : yea, and this—then art thou seer,

When all thy crying clear

Is but : Lo here ! Lo there !—ah me, Lo everywhere ! ’ ”

The Rev. Principal A. E. GARVIE, D.D., said :

“This Conference is a sign and seal of a great

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change which has taken place ; it is a promise and pledge of a greater which will yet take place. We have seen the heavenly vision of the sovereignty of Christ in every section of human interest and activity, and we are not going to be disobedient to it.

“This change may be indicated by the examination of three contrasts—faith and works, sacred and secular, individual and corporate actions.

“(1) Although Paul did not condemn the works James approved, or James condemn the faith Paul approved, and this difference was only one of emphasis, yet in the history of the Christian Church two tendencies have been opposed, the evangelical and the legal or moralist. Evangelicalism has sometimes so emphasised faith apart from works as to make it a barren orthodoxy or a vain pietism. In revolt against this men of serious moral spirit and purpose have so emphasised duty apart from the ennobling grace of Christ as to make the Christian life a heavy burden and a grievous task. But when faith is properly conceived as belief and trust in Jesus Christ as Saviour, and surrender to Him as Lord, it is seen to energise, and necessarily in love, a love which is the fulfilment of law, which not only does no ill to a neighbour, but seeks to do him all the good it can. Grateful love to God for His grace issues in generous love to men according to their needs. Christian morality and religion have one motive, the constraining love of Christ, and one purpose, communion with and imitation of the perfection of the Father in heaven. Faith is the root and works of love are the fruit of the Christian

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life, the life united to Christ by faith and sustained by His Spirit.

“(2) The sphere of the works of faith has, however, been sometimes restricted to activities, which as sacred were distinguished from others as secular. But this separation is no less theoretically false than practically wrong. God is Creator as well as Redeemer; He acts in nature and history no less than in what is known distinctively as religion. He is Sovereign over all existences and not merely the Head of a department of life, and He refuses to be banished in thought or life from any part of His universal domain. There is nothing common or unclean except sin, and every activity which conscience can approve is sacred, and not secular, if the motive be the good of man and the glory of God. This Conference claims for the sovereignty of Christ two spheres which too often have been withdrawn from it, the spheres of industry and government. There are no laws in economics or politics which exempt human action in these spheres from the authority of conscience, the rule of Christ. Neither of these spheres is dominated by any physical necessity; in both there are voluntary activities, to which moral principles must be applied. The present condition of the world is the proof of what results from withdrawing these human interests from the control of Christ. Neither business men nor politicians have shown themselves *practical*, for only that man is practical who does the best things possible in every realm in the best way which can be discovered. The voice of Christ should be heard in regard to the conflict of classes

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and of nations, that in both His Spirit of reconciliation may bring peace; and it is for peace this world is crying out.

“(3) If Christian action in these and other realms is to be effective, it must be corporate, and not individual only. The problems are too complex for solution by individual action. Individual philanthropy cannot command the resources to meet the abounding and enduring needs. In economics and politics especially must there be action, national and international. The whole Church must bear its testimony to the Mind and Will of Christ, and use its influence to secure obedience on so wide a scale. The interests of classes must be altered, the policies of nations receive a new direction; and it is only as the Church has the wisdom and the strength of Christ that it can become God’s agent in a new creation. Religious Revival must precede Moral Reformation and Social Reconstruction.”

The Meeting closed with silent prayer and the Benediction.

THE OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

MONDAY, APRIL 7

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

Prayers were conducted by Mr. H. G. Wood.

The LORD MAYOR OF BIRMINGHAM (Alderman T. O. WILLIAMS) gave a cordial welcome to the delegates and hoped that all success would attend the Conference. He paid warm tribute to the work of preparation already done and to the Handbook prepared by Mr. H. G. Wood.

The CHAIRMAN read the following message from the KING, the delegates standing :

“ I am much interested in the Conference over which you are to preside for the discussion from a Christian standpoint of the problems and perplexities of our social, political and economic life. Such discussions must surely be welcomed by the citizens of a Christian country : and I shall look forward to hearing the results of your deliberations.

“ GEORGE R.I.”

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY wrote :

“ As I shall, if all is well, be in Italy when your

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Conference meets, I am anxious that you should have my assurance of deep sympathy and of confident hope.

“Conferences on every great subject in heaven and earth are the order of the day, and some of us are in so real a danger of growing hardened or even callous to what ought to be their stimulating force that I see real peril in our multiplying them overmuch. But in regard to this gathering the aim has been so steady, the arrangements so deliberate and the choice of leaders so careful, and, above all, the prayers so real and expectant, that I am not afraid. The brains and hearts of some of our foremost Christian thinkers and workers are astir with the resolve to look afresh, if it may be, upon our problems—social, industrial, political, international—and to bring them unreservedly to the touchstone of the Christian faith which we profess, and then frankly to abide the issue.

“Pains have clearly been taken to secure that controversial questions in industry or politics shall not be presented merely in a one-sided or partisan manner. Not a few of them can be regarded Christianly from quite different standpoints, and such public handling of large questions by exponents competent to present them both in their spiritual and their economic aspects must be useful to every thoughtful and fair-minded hearer.

“Honest discussions of that sort will, I believe, make it clear that along a Christian pathway our perplexities can often be simplified—our vulgar fractions reduced to simpler terms.

“Very heartily do I invoke the blessing of God

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upon this endeavour to interpret His will for the men and women of to-day.

“RANDALL CANTUAR.”

The PRIME MINISTER wrote :

“I am glad to send a word of greeting to the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, and to wish them well in their labours in the coming week.

“In our world to-day we are so hemmed about with artificialities and distractions that the consideration of the great problems of life and of affairs is apt to be distorted or to lose itself among the diversity of our divided aims. But one thing can hold us to our goal and keep our powers fresh and undiverted ; and that is the living belief in Christian doctrines and the simplicity of spirit which the Christian faith engenders. I welcome the Conference and all it stands for, and I trust that its proceedings may serve to quicken our faith and to bring our ideals more freshly before us.

“Yours very truly,

“J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.”

Mr. STANLEY BALDWIN wrote :

“I write to wish sincerely every success to your Conference.

“I believe that it is only in the spirit of the teachings of Christianity that solutions can be found to the many difficult problems with which our generation is faced.

“Yours truly,

“STANLEY BALDWIN.”

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

Mr. H. H. ASQUITH wrote :

"I am much obliged to you for your letter of March 31st, and for the information which you have sent to me regarding the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, which is to open on Saturday next in Birmingham.

"I am glad to have this opportunity of sending my most cordial greetings to the members of the Conference, and of expressing my warm sympathy with the purposes which they are meeting together to promote.

"Yours sincerely,

"H. H. ASQUITH."

Messages were also read from the ANGLO-CATHOLIC CONGRESS and the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EVANGELICAL FREE CHURCHES.

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM sent "the longest letter he had written with his own hand for a long time" since his illness. It was read by Rt. Rev. BISHOP HAMILTON BAYNES, D.D.

The CHAIRMAN then extended a very cordial welcome to the Most Rev. the ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA, representing the INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON LIFE AND WORK; Miss RHODA McCULLOCH, representing the American NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE CHRISTIAN WAY OF LIFE; His Grace the METROPOLITAN OF THYATEIRA and a large number of visitors from AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, CANADA, CHINA, CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, DENMARK, ESTHONIA, FINLAND, FRANCE, GERMANY, HOLLAND, INDIA, ITALY, NEW ZEALAND, NORWAY, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND and the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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The following members were appointed to act as a Reference Committee for the Conference:—Rt. Rev. Bishop Hamilton Baynes, Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. T. E. Clarke, Rev. Gwilym Davies, Miss Gardner, Rev. Dr. A. E. Garvie, Rev. Dr. A. H. Gray, Mr. Fred Hughes, Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield, Rev. Professor Lofthouse, Ven. Archdeacon Macmillan, Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester, Rev. Hugh Martin, Rev. A. S. Mellor, Rev. Dr. Harry Miller, Mrs. George Morgan, Rev. Canon Newsom, Mr. A. R. Pelly, Mr. George Peverett, Rev. Dr. C. E. Raven, Rev. Will Reason, Rev. J. L. Roberts, Rev. Dr. Ivor Roberton, Miss H. A. Spence, Rev. Malcolm Spencer, Rev. E. B. Storr, Rev. Dr. David Watson, Mr. H. G. Wood and Rev. Canon E. S. Woods.

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER gave his address as Chairman of the Conference.

“Three features seem to give our gathering its peculiar significance. These are—(1) the scope of the Conference; (2) its representative character; (3) its spiritual basis and aim.

“(1) *The scope of the Conference.*—Many Conferences have been held on the various subjects we are to consider, but those subjects have been usually considered in separation from each other. That makes possible a thoroughness of discussion which is impossible here; but it also involves a real falsification of the issues. Human life is too completely one for consideration of any one aspect in isolation to be really satisfactory. Attention has often been concentrated, for example, on the problems of industry; but the reforms advocated

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are often dependent for feasibility on parallel reforms in education and in international relations, as well as in many other departments of life. There was a clear need, therefore, for such a survey of the whole field as is attempted in this Conference and in the Reports presented to it. But we must also mark the limitations of such an enterprise. Our discussions cannot be detailed, and unless there is almost universal agreement among us, we cannot usefully pledge ourselves to resolutions which can only carry weight if they rest on such detailed discussion. On the other hand, an abundance of detailed inquiry and discussion lies behind the Reports of our Commissions, so that when we are at all generally agreed in support of their recommendations, we can say so with a clear conscience and with genuine determination to act on what we say.

“(2) *The representative character of the Conference.*—A main feature of this Conference is that all kinds of Christian people have united in the preparation for it. That is not new in itself, but it is the biggest manifestation of such unity hitherto. In the years just before the war Christians of all denominations were coming increasingly together, and in 1910 the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions was founded under the presidency of the then Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Gore. It was at a meeting of that Interdenominational Conference held shortly after Peace had been declared that the project of this Conference was launched. A little later the issue by the Anglican Bishops of the Lambeth Appeal gave a great impetus to the cause of Christian unity. Our gathering here

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is not an effort to unite Christian people in social witness so much as an expression and result of their growing sense of unity.

“ It is a matter of profound regret to all of us that the Roman Catholic Church has felt unable to be in any way officially represented here. I wish to express our warm thanks to those members of that great Church who have helped us in the work of the Commissions, both for the valuable aid which they brought and for the cordiality of their co-operation ; and we are glad to have with us some who are attending the Conference not as representatives but as individuals.

“ But this Conference is also, as I have said, representative of a great movement within the Church which is, I am convinced, a movement of the Holy Ghost. Christians had, with few exceptions, lost the vision of the Kingdom of God as claiming the allegiance of all nations and authority over all departments of life. In the middle of the nineteenth century the reassertion of that claim was vigorously made, and has been more and more widely proclaimed ever since. In many utterances of high authority it has been pressed upon the conscience of the Church. I will mention only three : the noble encyclical of Pope Leo XIII ; the Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry entitled ‘ Christianity and Industrial Problems ’ ; and the Report of the American interdenominational Committee, ‘ Christianity and Industrial Reconstruction.’ Moreover, our Conference is itself the British preparation for the Universal Conference on the Life and Work of the Church. With the

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steadily growing sense that Machiavellian statecraft is bankrupt there is an increasing readiness to give heed to the claim of Jesus Christ that He is the Way, the Truth and the Life. We represent here to-day the convergence of a spiritual movement in the Church prompted by loyalty and hope, and a spiritual movement in the world prompted by disillusion and despair. Our opportunity is overwhelmingly great; so also is our responsibility.

“(3) *The spiritual basis and aim of the Conference.*—Just because the opportunity and responsibility are so great we are thrown back upon God Himself. What is it that we have, above all else, to do? The main thing is that we ourselves should be led to a real repentance—that is, a change of outlook such that we cease to look at life as men tend to look at it, and learn to look at it as God sees it. It is not enough to hail Jesus as our King, as St. Peter did at Cæsarea Philippi, if we go on, as he did, to rebel against the principle of His Kingship. Very apposite to many of our schemes for the Kingdom are the words of that terrible rebuke, ‘Get thee behind me, Satan, for thou thinkest not God’s thoughts but men’s thoughts.’ True repentance is precisely that we think not men’s thoughts but God’s thoughts. If, by the power of the Holy Ghost upon us, amongst us, and within us, we are brought to such a repentance, we shall scatter over the country when the week ends with a re-vitalised Gospel—the same Gospel, come to new life in us and for us; and in regional conferences and local conferences we shall help others to find what we have found here.

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“Our aim then is not to join in debate or listen to debate. Our aim is to hear God speak. We know that a great deal in our life is defiant of His Will. We bear on our hearts the burden of unemployment, and in our consciences the challenge which tells us that where such things happen God’s Kingdom is not yet come on earth as it is in heaven. We cannot forget the anxiety about international peace or the misery of multitudes in consequence of the war and its results. We remember those who have fallen into crime or are victims of lust, and we know that we have some share of the guilt of their degradation. All these things will be the theme of our discussion; we shall be facing realities and in no way seeking an escape in religion from the ugly facts of life. We are here at all only because these facts are a declaration that our life is based on unchristian principles. But our aim in relation to all these things is, through the contributions of various speakers and perhaps through the very clash of their opinions, to hear God speak. In this effort all must help. Those who speak will speak as in God’s presence; those who listen will listen in dependence on God.

“There is no limit to what God may do through us this week and in all that follows from it. But whatever is done must be done by Him. Our aim is that, in famous words, we may ‘be to the Eternal Goodness what a man’s hand is to a man.’ Our task is beyond man’s strength, but with God all things are possible. Let us stand in silence.”

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(No discussion.)

THE Report was presented in a series of speeches.

REV. C. E. RAVEN, D.D., said :

“There is only one possible starting-point for such a Conference as ours. We begin with God. To understand and reveal His nature and purpose as these are unveiled in Jesus Christ and to order our lives, personal and corporate, for the divine end and in the divine presence—that is our task as Christians. If we have anything to contribute to the solution of the problems of citizenship, anything that could not be better supplied by economists or sociologists or politicians, it is our faith and experience as Christians : a faith and experience which supplies us with a criterion by which to test human aspirations and human policies and an ideal towards the fulfilment of which every detail of life should be consciously directed. There has never been a time when the conscience of mankind was more sensitive to the failings and shames of our corporate life. The best hearts and minds are criticising and striving to reconstruct. Men and women of all grades and types are eager not only to dream of a better day but to make experiments towards it. But while there is abundant good-will and a bewildering amount of

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independent effort, there is a plain lack of that unity and inspiration which springs only from a common ideal clearly understood and generally accepted. Psychologists and teachers have repeatedly shown that the sole condition of health and power in the individual is the possession of a single and central purpose or interest to which every faculty of the personality can be attached. What is true of the individual is true also, as Plato taught, of the commonwealth. Fellowship and co-operation will only be attainable when each one of us relates his every activity of body, mind and spirit to the fulfilment of a common and compelling purpose. In our Blessed Lord we see a personality perfectly co-ordinated: He responded with every atom of His being to the accomplishment of the divine will: He showed us perfect manhood because in Him each instinct and emotion, thought and action was related to, united with and sublimated by the presence of God. St. Paul's great vision of a redeemed humanity of one body and one spirit points forward to the possibility of reproducing in the corporate life of mankind a similar consecration; to bring the whole sum of human life into full co-operation with God is the goal of Christian citizenship; to inspire and organise and unite mankind that the Spirit of Christ may dwell in it is the high calling of the Church. For us who accept our one Lord there can be no smaller purpose: to envisage and promote it is the object that has brought us here.

“It was this conviction that led the Council of Copec to institute as its first Commission an inquiry into the fundamental character of the faith. Such

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a venture was obviously full of peril. In the past, interdenominational theology has had a bad name. This Commission might well have produced either a series of controversial alternatives or a watered down and insipid compromise. The *odium theologicum* is a poisonous and pervasive bacillus : could we escape its attacks except by surrendering principles or evading difficulties ? We all called ourselves Christians : could we discover and state the measure of our common faith ? You who have read our Report will judge far better than I how far we have succeeded. At least I can testify myself that never through our long discussions has there been any symptom of bitterness, and that never have we deliberately shirked issues because they were difficult or disputed. Further, I would venture to add that we have all been amazed (as I believe you will be) to discover how vast is the area in which agreement is possible. If no one of us would regard the Report as a complete statement of his views, we should all accept it as representing a position by which the area of our divergences has been narrowed and from which further advance is possible.

“The experience of the Commission in its search for a common starting-point is perhaps worth recording. For it confirms the general opinion that Christians agree in their fundamental attitude towards God in Christ and in their religious experience, though they may differ widely in the credal and ecclesiastical systems in which that experience is interpreted and enshrined. *We are at one when we are on our knees.* The Commission resisted the temptation to begin with a survey of the familiar

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issues on which we are at variance, and instead commenced from the common heritage of all its members, the Lord's Prayer. Our Report is simply an exposition of what we conceive to be involved in that unique utterance of our Master.

“And how vast a theme it is! Men versed in the intricacies of theological controversies, whose eyes are blinded to a sense of proportion, may sneer at a gospel of “the mere Fatherhood of God.” Yet fill that phrase with the meaning that our Lord gave to it, and it becomes revolutionary in its effects and universal in its application, challenging all our conventional human standards and compelling us to alter every relationship of our lives. The Lord's Prayer interpreted for us by His words and works gives us a new and satisfying ideal for the life of the individual and of the world. His person and His Cross inspire us with power to realise that ideal. Despite the ease with which habit enables us to accept (and refuse to apply) our faith, there is here, if we can consecrate ourselves to fulfil it, something immeasurably searching and transforming.

“It is just because the change implied by discipleship is so fundamental that we are constantly accepting cheap substitutes for Christ's gospel. The parable of the patch of new cloth on the old garment is true for every one of us; and the result is as evident as it is unsatisfying. The records of the saints support what the example of our Lord demonstrated, that full consecration can change not only the individual life but the life of the world. It is for such a change that we would plead. Do not let us judge Christianity by its effects in ourselves,

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by the fruits of our spasmodic and half-hearted devotion : Ananias and Sapphira have never been reckoned fair samples of our religion. Let us see it in our Lord—and wonder and worship and offer ourselves to the *Imitatio Christi*. Only by self-identification with Him, only by the love which casts out self, can a solution of the problem of personal conduct be found. Only as this dedication involves our society can we hope to right the wrongs and renew the splendour of our corporate life.

“The task which brings us here implies first and foremost a rebirth of religion—a recognition of the supremacy of the spiritual—a fresh experience of the fellowship of Pentecost. This does not mean a lapse into other-worldliness, a loss of interest in the reform of material conditions, of social life and industry and politics. Rather it means that only as we approach our practical tasks with the vision and power of God inspiring us can we hope to plan wisely and organise effectively. We are all God’s human children. Only as we keep strong our family life in Him can we bring His beauty, His order, His righteousness, His Love into our home here on earth.

“In conclusion, let me summarise our Report. It begins with a survey of the revelation which Jesus Christ gives us of the character and purpose of His Father and of the concept of man and of human society involved in that revelation. The two following chapters review this interpretation in the light of the philosophical and psychological problems which it raises : if the former of them seems to trench upon the province of Christian apologetics,

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we have at least tried to keep our treatment of the subject as untechnical and constructive as possible. The fourth chapter deals with the obstacles which have to be met by those who would promote God's purpose, and the aids upon which they can rely. Finally, we turn to the practical problems of individual and corporate conduct in a world not yet Christian, illuminating our treatment by special reference to the question of compromise and by examples of that change of values which is the consequence of accepting the faith. Whatever its shortcomings (and none of you can be more conscious of these than the members of your Commission) we present our Report with deep thankfulness for the experience of fellowship that we have gained in its preparation, and in the hope that it may serve as a beginning in the task of thinking out together the social implications of our religion."

Miss EVELYN UNDERHILL's paper was read by Prof. W. MOBERLEY.

"In Bernard Shaw's great prophetic play *Back to Methuselah*, Eve, the Mother of humanity, says in her old age of her grandson Enoch, 'Enoch walks on the hills and hears the Voice continually, and has given up his will to do the will of the Voice . . . but it took Enoch two hundred years to learn to interpret the will of the Voice.'

"That may seem a strange quotation to bring to this Conference, which represents to most of us a great and sacred moment in the history of British Christianity. But we are here because the Churches

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and Christian bodies we represent are all committed, like Enoch, to the walk with God, and want to learn to interpret the will of the Voice. We are the delegates of men and women of all types who agree in refusing the animal view of existence; who desire to know God's nature and conform to His purpose—to live, that is, towards the standards of Divine Reality. We want a clue to the thread of God's purpose running through this tangled creation, and we want it all the more because we are so solidly sure about Him. We feel that, so far, we've neither interpreted nor obeyed the Voice. We've been not so much wicked as stupid, muddled and vague.

“Yet, when we take humanity as a whole, when we think of its lowly origins, what marvellous insights we've been given into God's eternal character and purpose, into the superhuman facts of Holiness and of Love! Put all that together—the best and deepest we have known—the whole Christian inheritance of spiritual truth and beauty—all the witness of the saints—all they reveal, and we in our little prayers stretch out to, of the realities of the spiritual world. Put together these inconceivable disclosures of God—‘fairest yet strongest, unchangeable yet changing all’—given to us, little half-animal things; add to them the ultimate disclosure, made actually, by the most humbling of condescensions, *in* human nature itself—then confront all this with the use we have made of it.

“Consider, again, that as Christians we do actually possess the clue to God's will we ask for. We are allowed to perceive in Jesus Christ the inmost nature of God, and His relation with the world, in the

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degree in which our little human souls can bear it. We've *seen* the emergence in human history of perfect holiness and ceaselessly redeeming love, as solid facts. We could, as the saints have always done, live with His continuing Spirit here and now, if we were willing to pay the price. We can, in our prayers, touch infinite and hardly guessed forces, draw on an unfailing source of power; the living water of Creative Love. In other words, the nature and purpose of the Infinite God are, and always have been, doubly revealed to us—objectively, in the facts of history, and subjectively in the spiritual contacts of our own inner life. In the life and teaching of our Lord these two channels of revelation in their fullest come together: in His Person the life of history and the life of prayer met; and the result is the vision of the Kingdom of God—the assigned end at once of social and of individual growth. Look at that vision and then look at this planet, of which we are the responsible inhabitants. It is needless to go on about that!

“Now then, isn't it our job—isn't it the solution of our problem—open as we are to both these great currents of reality, to bring together and harmonise the life revealed in history and the life revealed in prayer? Are we not here, really, as delegates from Christian bodies whose right to exist depends on knowing and proclaiming this? Is not the whole of the New Testament a demand that this shall be done? Is not the whole of it a declaration of a *power* accessible to us, in which it *can* be done? Think of the perpetual miracles of personal redemption worked by the supernatural grace of God; and

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then dare to say that the miracle of social redemption is beyond the Christian span! Surely we cannot dare to limit the influence and possible transfiguring power of God upon the history which He pervades, sways, yet transcends. This very Conference has come into being as a result of the pressure of God upon history. It's a part—we don't know what part—of the great mysterious process of His action on human thought and human life. All limitations to that action are ours, and are the very essence of our sin. It's our frightened selfish resistance, or, worse than resistance, our disgusting pious apathy—our dull certainty that social regeneration won't happen—which stops it from happening. Our frightful lack of the dynamic virtues—Faith, Hope, Charity! In one of the deepest declarations of the New Testament the very object of the Incarnation is described as the bringing into humanity of a more abundant life—which we might perhaps translate as the bringing into the stream of history and social life of that other stream of supernatural energy, that vivid grace, which feeds the individual soul. Do we seem to have appropriated that energy? *Are* Christians in the bulk so vividly alive? Has something been added to their power, as well as to their obligation? A genuine Christian ought to be alive all over, with a depth and vitality of soul that makes shallow judgments and prejudices impossible: a Christian social order should be permeated in every part with this life; controlled by a supernatural aim. And if it were so, how full that life would be of joy and of vigour, how transfused by adoration and love! But it isn't, is it? What we seem to have done, on

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the contrary, is to make life on the natural level a failure, and on the supernatural level an impossibility, for all but a mere handful of souls. What about all this? Have we, with our wonderful access to the hills, with our Christian vision and Christian privileges, yet failed in our common life to interpret the will of the Voice?

“Remember, we *claim* to know. Every person in this hall is the delegate of a society that believes it is trying to follow Jesus Christ—that accepts Jesus Christ as revealing the real character of the Infinite God, the nature of Reality, the conditions of fellowship under which alone we can be truly real. It’s quite easy to denounce such statements as idealism. But they are not—they are realism. And what is wrong with current Christianity is that it isn’t realistic; and so its vision and prayer have been divorced from its action, and thus both sides of its life have been maimed. We have forgotten the second thing that Enoch did—he gave up his own will in order to do the will of the Voice. That means unconditional consecration. Christianity was given us as a complete revelation in human terms of God and His purpose, demanding from us a completeness of surrender and response. And we have snipped it at both edges—limited both its supernatural and its natural outlook—and made it ineffective and incomplete. We have reduced its supernatural vividness and splendour, its holy beauty, its hardness and romance. We’ve lost our instinct for Eternal Life. And having done that we find, as we might have expected, that this sterilised Christianity is strangely impotent upon the natural plane. So the

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purpose of this Conference and the prayers of those who have called it together will never be fulfilled by the mere passing of resolutions or the framing of rules and principles which Christians can apply to the problems of active life. It will only be fulfilled if the Church again becomes a Church of Prophecy and Vision; and like Enoch, in that which some choose to call her old age, listens to the Voice and learns to interpret its will: if she will follow her Master to those nights upon the mountain from which He returned with power to teach and heal the world; if she will restore to full vividness the completely integrated Christian life of adoration and of action, and so remake the bridge between the natural and supernatural worlds—lift the life of human intercourse in all its phases to the level on which it ought to be—the level of sacrament.

“As it is, whilst we are talking theology, or going to church, or sewing the miserable little patches we call charity into the rotten garment of our social life, or perhaps are enjoying those tiny apprehensions of God we can attain to, in what we childishly believe to be a ‘spiritual’ way—whilst we are indulging in these various religious pursuits (I had almost said religious amusements) countless human souls as dear to God as our own are passing through this world under conditions of which no Christian, no lover of Christ, with an ounce of imagination, can bear to think; conditions which make their achievement of full spiritual life impossible. Thousands of us are eating what we suppose to be the Bread of Eternal Life at our brothers’ expense. We don’t seriously suppose that *this* represents the

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purpose of God—the will of the Voice. Yet we continue our devotional basking in the sun, our religious self-cultivation, and let the maiming influence of environment play on these myriads of other souls, pressing them back to the animal levels—we just don't give them a chance.

“The mystics, with their deep experimental sense of God, and of all that is involved in His service, had a hard name for this kind of thing. They called it ‘adorning Christ’s Head and neglecting His Feet.’ ‘Surely,’ says one, ‘He will more thank thee and reward thee for the meek washing of His Feet when they be very foul, and yield an ill savour to thee, than for all the curious painting and fair dressing thou canst make about His head by thy devout remembrances.’

“‘His feet, ragged and rent’—ragged and rent with treading roads we have made so much rougher than they ought to be. Yet those feet are as much a part of His mystical body as the superior cells which see and interpret the world’s beauty and truth; and unless our outflowing love and reverence goes equally and actively to all parts of His Incarnate revelation, can we hope to read His purposes rightly.

“The mystic Ruysbroeck says that the love of God enters the little but uplifted soul of man as a simple light—and then it grows and becomes a spreading light, which flows out to all in common. Now the Infinite and all-creative Love of God comes into the soul of the Church in the simple light of Christ. But it hasn’t there been transformed into the spreading light which shall redeem the whole world—it has not been fully used, fully applied.

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And the result is that even in the Churches created to foster it, the light somehow seems to burn rather dim. Has the simple light given us in the story of the Magdalen been generally applied to human sins? or that of the Good Samaritan to the obligations of brotherhood? As to the Sermon on the Mount, it is really a series of indictments, isn't it, of our 'wonderful modern civilisation'—so absolutely clear of all suspicion of poverty of spirit, purity of heart, mercy, meekness, peace! I needn't continue—we know quite well that our country is *not* a Christian one. In other words, we know that the bit of this planet for which we are responsible is not corresponding with God's nature or fulfilling His purpose. And we've let the confusion get so dense now that we can't cut our way out of the thicket—we can only proceed bit by bit to the restoration of Faith—of Hope—of Charity!

“I began by quoting one modern prophet, now I'll quote another. In a recent essay Mr. Bertrand Russell pointed out the frightful danger of the modern alliance between man's half-savage impulses and his growing scientific power, and having done this, says: 'Only kindness can save the world, and even if we knew how to produce kindness we should not do so unless we were already kindly.' Now I don't propose to do as far too many apostles of social Christianity have done—reduce the pure Love of God to organised kindness. But no one can deny that living, vivid, realistic Christianity—the reign of Christ's love in individual hearts—*does* make men kindly and more than kindly. It lights the fire of supernatural charity, compassion, self-sacrifice. It turns the prose of humanitarian

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conduct into poetry—turns a decent attitude to our fellows into love. And if one of our most distinguished and least theological minds, trying every path, has discovered that only love in its various kinds and degrees *can* put the world right—what is this but a demand for the widespread application of Christ's secret—*our* secret—another indication that man is growing, and beginning after many errors to interpret the will of the Voice? 'If we knew how to produce kindliness we should not do so unless we were already kindly'—that is a word of deep wisdom—for the Christian attitude and action is only produced and appreciated by implicitly Christian souls—that is, those whose vision of God transcends their vision of themselves and their own interests. Real kindliness, in our little half-real and dimly conscious spirits, can only emerge as the faint reflection of a love that immeasurably exceeds and precedes our own.

"If we believe the Incarnation reveals to us the character and purpose of the Absolute Love, then it becomes a great illumination of the mind as well as a stimulus to our love and will. It links our struggle, all, every bit of it—the falling sparrow, the child, the worker, the deliberate and redemptive suffering and renunciation of the clear-sighted and pure—all this it links with God's achieved Perfection—with a Power and Spirit that will be more and more operative in us the more fully we give ourselves to its work and ends.

"'All things work together for them that love God!' But they don't for us, do they? Perhaps this may have something to do with the quality of

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our love. The Love of God demands courage and industry. It must be whole-hearted, without a hint of reserve. No dread of awkward consequences. No mean hankerings after safety and comfort. 'Not won without labour, not daunted with difficulties.' The love of God that is truly operative is the total self-giving of our tiny wills to His will—nothing, however hard, that is really demanded held back in the name of prudence or reasonable behaviour. Only that personal unlimited surrender can help us, I am convinced, to interpret the will of the Voice; to see the proportion in which our tiny notions of necessity stand to His Nature and Purpose.

"I read the other day a fairy tale about a Brownie that lived in a wood. And the King of the World passed through the wood very early every morning, and made all things beautiful and new. But the Brownie had never seen Him; he longed to, but there was something which stopped it. He had one cherished possession—a lovely little soft green blanket which had once fallen out of the fairy queen's chariot, and which he hadn't been able to help keeping for himself. And it kept him so warm and cosy at night that he never woke up in time to see the King of the World. At last there came One who looked into the soul of the Brownie, and said, 'Haven't you yet seen the King of the World?' and the Brownie said, 'No, I want to, but I can't manage it.' Then He said to him, 'I seem to see something in your soul that keeps you from seeing the Vision of the King of the World—something that looks rather like a blanket!' Then a terrible fight began in the heart of the little Brownie—a

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battle between wanting to go on being comfortable in his blanket, and longing to see the King of the World. I wonder whether the choice which lies before this Conference may not be the Brownie's choice between the Vision and the Blanket."

Rev. W. R. MALTBY said :

"Years ago I acquired at a sale four volumes of an 'Atlas and Cosmography' intended to be completed like the Copec Reports in twelve volumes. The opening sentence read, "Cosmography is a general description of heaven and earth, of both which an account will be given in this work. The account of the heavens is reserved to a peculiar volume, it being more expedient as we conceive that we begin with that of the earth.' The volumes, however, were not completed; the author lost his money in the undertaking and was thrown into the Fleet prison for debt, and spent his last years in writing, not that peculiar volume about the heavenly bodies, but a history of his gaol. Which things are an allegory. It might seem that the programme of this Conference promises to survey heaven and earth and all things therein. But we approach that tremendous subject as those who believe that *the Christian Religion integrates the whole*. Religion cannot be reserved to a peculiar volume : it is not for us an appendix to life, it is the meaning of life. We put God first, not because it is seemly so to do, nor for Dogberry's reason, 'Write down that they serve God, and write God first, for God defend, but God should go before such villains.'

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Our reason is that we have seen *a purpose of God which gives meaning to the whole of life*. We accept the dilemma that life is either a nightmare or a revelation, and we choose the latter alternative, not because it is the more pleasant of the two, but because in the light of that revelation all that we see increases in significance and coherence; the apparent contradictions diminish and the harmonies multiply.

“Two reasons may be given why we ought to meet for this unique Conference and why we may hope for great results. In the first place the modern social problems which we are to consider *are* modern. Human nature has not changed, but the conditions of human life have changed enormously and our extraordinary mastery of material resources without any corresponding increase in moral power has created a situation of bewildering trouble and fear. The social problems cannot be let alone. The modern world must find an answer or civilisation is undone.

“God in Christ.

“In the second place we ought to meet hopefully, because Christian people are better prepared for an answer to these crying questions than they have been in the past. There is now within reach of the Church a richer, more reasonable, more universal, and more significant message than we have ever had. If this is so it is largely due to one cause—within our own day *the Christian Church has recovered the significance of our Lord's earthly life*. Through that recovery Jesus Christ is increasingly directing the thoughts and sustaining the hopes of the noblest

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part of mankind. There is something new in the situation here. When our fathers said, 'Born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate,' passing straight from the miraculous birth to the sacrificial death, they told us where their interests were, and also where they were not. They were not really interested in that human life except as a preliminary to the atoning death. It is not so today. Jesus Himself as He lived among men is better known to us than for many centuries past. His significance proves to be inexhaustible. Looking at the human face of Jesus Christ we see how glorious God is. We cannot learn this by any lists of attributes eked out by analogies derived from kings' courts and the haunts of arbitrary power. The only language that was at once intelligible to us and adequate to express God was the language of a human life; this is the meaning of the Incarnation. It is astonishing how much we know of this Jesus whose story comes down to us only in a few fragmentary pages—amazing how that royal nature with all its striking contrasts is so luminous and so intelligible. Jesus Christ becomes for many of us the most knowable person in the world. The contrasts are indeed striking—the speed with which He worked, putting vast masses of work behind Him every day; the peace which gave Him leisure for everyone and made Him a refuge for every hunted life; that burning moral passion and that appealing humour; that severity and that ease; that uncompromisingness and that tolerance; that rigour and that sympathy. He surprises and teaches us by what He did, but also by what He did not do, by what He

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said and left unsaid, by the fire He kindled on earth and the fire He would not call down from heaven, by His command over nature and the humility of His service to men, by the sweep of His power which nothing could withstand, and by those sudden halts on the threshold of the human spirit when its frail door was closed against Him. These opposites are not inharmonious in Him. It is not even right to say that they are the different sides of one character. They all mean the same thing, they are the expression of one purpose, meeting a changing situation with one intent. This Incarnate Life becomes the supreme *revelation of God's dealings with us*, therefore of what God is, and what we are, and what life means. So that we see in God's ways an end to which we can reach out, a process we can welcome, and a blessedness which no adversities can take away.

“He found God's Meaning in Nature.”

“Nature has dark riddles to ask of those who profess to explain her, and our Report has something to say about them. We claim that the Christian revelation has answered some of those riddles, that it puts us in the way of answering others: and that even in the darkest of all, the Christian hypothesis is more tolerable than any other. But my concern just now is with the positive side.

“Jesus Christ saw God everywhere in the world about Him. He would have known how to appreciate the ascetics, for they at least cared sufficiently to take the difficult path, *but He does not take their way*. We can see how rich was our Lord's outlook when we compare it even with that of His servant

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Paul. St. Paul has left no evidence that he ever heard a bird, and he has left positive evidence that he never saw an ox. 'Doth God care for oxen?' he says. But for Jesus the whole world was '*a mighty sum of things for ever speaking.*' Anyone can see the sun rise, none but He saw it rise with intent, pouring friendship from the skies. We have all seen rain fall, how few have heard its appeal, or seen in the sun and rain the sacraments of a magnanimous love which disdains petty punishments and corrupting rewards! Jesus really could see birds, and feel flowers, and He understood their language. Sun, stars, wind and rain, birds and flowers, the whole universe was for Him a vast embassy, and all the ambassadors were saying, 'Be ye reconciled to God.' Perhaps no one ever came nearer than St. Francis (with his Brother Sun, and Sister Earth, and all the rest of the family) to this view of nature, as friendly and co-operative, and if we had explored it more deeply and set it forth more worthily we should not so often have estranged the poets, who heard the voice even when they did not understand the language.

"It is perhaps in this context that we should place some of our Lord's miracles if we are to understand them. There is something completely beyond the reach of invention in the Evangelists' story of those miracles. They are not violent interventions of a good power in an evil order; they are rather the use of a plastic and responsive material in a master-hand. When He awoke out of a sleep in the boat, His surprise was not at the storm, but at His disciples' panic, as something unreasonable and

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discreditable. He speaks constantly as though all that we call impossibilities would yield right of way to the loving purpose of God. If we could be of His mind, we should know that this world is God's world and therefore sacramental, and we might remember oftener than we do that there are not two sacraments, nor seven, but seventy times seven. To know this is to discover a new heaven and a new earth.

“He found God's Meaning in the Conditions of Human Life.”

“Therefore He accepted those conditions, not grudgingly or of necessity. *On the one hand*, He did not resent or seek to evade the long tasks, difficulties and frustrations with which we must grapple. He learned by them, and turned them to account and gave thanks. All our weak complaining and self-pity, that we should be set to the soldier's work, is put to shame before an example like this. *On the other hand*, He did not, as some of the Saints have done, divide life into sacred and secular, and, finding God interested in one corner of life and not in the rest, entrench themselves in the favoured portion. John the Baptist, like many of the typically religious men in all ages, stood on the edge of life and called people out of it. He would have no more to do with it than he could help. He reduced life to the barest simplicity and steadily refused to enjoy his meals. When Jeremy Taylor sits down to consider the rules of Holy Living, he laments the time wasted in merely growing up, and if he consents to go to bed, it is,

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as it were, under protest and on the understanding that it is not to be regarded as a precedent in any subsequent existence. He writes, 'When we consider how many parts of our wisest and best years are spent in eating and sleeping, in necessary business and unnecessary vanities, in worldly civilities and less useful circumstances, in the learning of arts and sciences, languages or trades, that little portion of hours that is left for the practices of piety and religious walking with God is so short and trifling, that were not the goodness of God infinitely great, it might seem unreasonable or impossible for us to expect of Him eternal joys in heaven even after the well spending those few minutes which are left for God and God's service, after we have served ourselves and our own occasions.'

"We know there is something noble in this mistake, and perhaps something ironic in the language, yet it suggests a surrender of whole tracts of the common life to secular interests as being practically meaningless, and it is far from the mind of Christ. Jesus Christ took the other way. He was born a little child and carried thankful memories of that childhood into the later years. He was for eighteen years a carpenter and did not think it lost time. He came eating and drinking. He took His place at the common table and in the common workshop and was glad to be there, and none of all His human experience was neutral or without significance. And even when in later days He was hunted and homeless, He had the serenity of one who found life 'a sweet thing.'

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“He accepted the Social Relationships in which He found Himself and revealed God’s Meaning in them.

“He had reason for doing otherwise, if ever anyone had. Of all who had dealings with Him, not one was worthy to stoop and tie His shoe-lace, but He never told them so. The intellectual and moral distances between Him and other men were infinite, yet He could put Himself at any man’s side. In every human relationship, sooner or later He was let down. His mother, His brothers, His friends, His apostles, His disciples, His judges, the people He befriended—all in turn failed Him at one point or another, but He did not repudiate any of these relationships. However wronged by men, He never made God a refuge *from* men. He prayed *for* His enemies, not like the Psalmist, *against* them. And all this not grudgingly or of necessity, or because it was the part assigned to Him, but because it was more blessed to share even shame with the family than to seek peace outside it.

“This overcoming evil by good was the Father’s way, it was our Lord’s way, and it is, He insisted, to be ours. It is the way of peace for those who follow it, and it is the way to the redemption of all social relationships.

“Even Christian people scarcely realise how emphatically He taught that our relations with one another are inextricably involved with our relations towards God, so that we cannot have mercy from God and refuse mercy to our brother. If we turn our back upon our fellows we turn our back upon God. In His picture of the final judgment, when

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the truth of things is laid bare, all turns on one thing—*compassion*, and the damning sin is to be in a *world of need and not to see it*.

“His blessedness was not, and ours is not, to be found in any private comforts or congenialities, or in escape from the family enlargement, but in laying ourselves open to the world’s need and giving ourselves in love and service, remembering that we are dealing with the children of God. All this rests on the faith that there is something essentially lovable in all men. Our part is to honour all men, especially those who do not honour themselves or us, and to raise all common relationships to their highest meaning, even when that meaning is ignored by those with whom we have to do.

“This is high doctrine, and it may be so stated as only to drive sincere minds to despair. For the way of Christ seems to make immense demands on very small people. There is so much it would seem that we must *understand*, and so much that we must *resolve*, that most of us would feel that we cannot wind ourselves up to that pitch. That, of course, is not the way. The way of Christ is not possible without Christ. If He who undertook to be the Saviour of the world cannot take us by the hand where we are, and, by His own fellowship with us, evoke from us the love of what should be loved, we are forlorn. But then, this is what He does.”

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MONDAY AFTERNOON

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL (Chairman of the Commission), introducing the Report, said :

“ Many in this Conference have already shared the labour of seeking with others for a common mind. They know the joys and also the difficulties. It is hard enough to form that mind : harder still to realise it for oneself : hardest of all to represent it in cold print. The impression our discussions left on us is clear enough. Perhaps I may make a little clearer the impression of the Report on you, if I show you some of the ruling ideas that governed the course of our thinking.

“ We set our starting-point in God, His Sovereignty, His claims to our obedience, His definite commands. We are to learn, and, having learned, to teach His Will. That is man’s true view of God, and it must dominate our view of everything. But it is possible so to apply that truth as, not to dominate, but to overwhelm another truth, namely, God’s view of man. Indeed it is hard to do justice at once to God and man. There are educational

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theories which almost worship human personality. But there is also an exaltation of God which involves practically submergence of the beings He made in His own image. To train them only to obey, to teach them at whatever stage merely subservience to divine command, in the form of human precepts claiming divine authority, is to sink them lower than God set them when He made them free, free to choose, and free to grow.

“Therefore, holding in mind man’s accepted view of God, we kept it side by side with God’s revealed idea of man. God has declared by word and deed that we are free. In one sense He made us in the beginning free, at every step to go this way or that. In another sense He is still making us free, by leading us from the lower levels of freedom to the higher, that in the end we may attain the perfect liberty of sons of God, working in full harmony with Him for the achievement of His Will. Here then are our two principles: God is supreme yet man is free in every detail of a world where God is active, and man is active too. The explanation or, if you want it, the reconciliation of these two principles must be left to others to expound; we content ourselves to see in the far end freedom and obedience as one.

“But in the meanwhile? How at each stage shall we mingle restraint and liberty, discipline and free growth? There is no formula for that. We can only suggest that those who are making their own Christ’s vision of God, and God’s vision of man, will find it in themselves. But one further consideration, which has been continually present

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to our minds, is at this point relevant. We have avoided a definition of education. There are enough already. Most of them make use of metaphor. That is inevitable, but therefore each misleads. The feeding metaphor seems altogether out of favour now, yet there is truth in it. Perhaps when we have found the ideal examination it may come to its own again. The likeness of a growing plant is truer still. But at an essential point it fails. Plants grow best alone, but men grow best together. Set a man in isolation and he cannot grow. His only chance of coming to his best lies in close fellowship with other men. Now it seemed to us that the course of teaching and learning is most truly seen along three parallel lines. We are to train the person of child or adolescent or adult for that person's benefit, increasing his appetite to acquire, his power to use. There stands his first rightful claim to freedom. Again and at the same time we are to train him for his association with other persons, in which alone he can attain his full stature. There comes his discipline, always more freely accepted, as in ever-widening circles of membership his true self is realised. And all the time we are to enable him for contact and intercourse with God. There his hope of final freedom lies.

“The training of self for self, of self for the world, and of self for God. That is the aim, threefold in one, which we trust you will find in these pages.”

The CHAIRMAN announced that the general

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Resolution appearing in the Report would be withdrawn and the Conference asked to give general assent to the recommendations in blocks. These would be summarised in a short series of Resolutions.

Mr. Z. F. WILLIS (Member of the Commission) introduced *The Psychological Aspect of the Education Report*.

“That education should be preparation for life in the sense of preparation for co-operation with God in the fulfilment of His purposes for the individual and for society is the basis of our Report. Such a conception contains very far-reaching implications.

“In his Romanes Lecture on ‘The Idea of Progress’ the Dean of St. Paul’s quoted with approval Disraeli’s caustic epigram, that ‘The European talks of progress because by the aid of a few scientific discoveries he has established a society which has mistaken comfort for civilisation,’ and concluded that in his view, progress is a matter of hope and not of certainty. Commenting upon this in his *Essays of a Biologist*, Mr. Julian Huxley remarks that the Dean has been ‘so concerned to attack the dogma of inherent and inevitable progress in human affairs that he has denied the fact of progress—whether inevitable we know not, but indubitable and actual—in biological evolution, and in so doing he has cut himself and his adherents off from . . . by far the greatest manifestation in external things of “something not ourselves that makes for righteousness.”’

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“The particular point with which I am concerned may perhaps best be made by examining one aspect of the difference between Dean Inge and Mr. Huxley. Mr. Huxley has in mind what he calls ‘progress in biological evolution.’ The Dean, I suspect, is more concerned with intellectual, moral, and spiritual issues. From these two points of view they are both right. The fact of our progressive evolution through long ages may scarcely now be doubted, but there is a grave danger in any assumption that it must inevitably be continued, and the reason is not difficult to see. Until now this progress has been in the main a natural progress, largely mechanical, almost deterministic. The product of this progress through the ages has been man, but it may be said that the human race is only just beginning to emerge from this natural and mechanical stage into that of intellectual, moral, and spiritual possibility.

“Sir Oliver Lodge recently remarked that ‘The average of mankind has not emerged very far above its animal ancestry,’ and the present Lord Chancellor expressed the same view when he said, ‘We are not really a very intelligent people.’

“The Chairman of our Commission is credited with the view that the human race is perhaps some fourteen years old. If I disagree, it would be in feeling that it has not quite reached that age. While a complete parallel between the development of the individual and the development of the race cannot be maintained, there is enough in common to justify certain comparisons. Up to adolescence the child’s development is largely mechanical. In

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this period he enters into possibilities of freedom in the development of his life, and everything depends upon the way he realises and uses his new power. Speaking broadly, has not humanity come to this critical adolescent period in its own development? If so, everything will depend upon the next two or three generations. Will our adolescent human race realise that something not ourselves has made for righteousness in preparing for us the possibility of participation in the achievement of the purposes of God, and accept the responsibilities which that preparation places upon it?

“To quote our Report. ‘Because God has made us in His image, He has made us free, and He will at all costs to Himself leave us free to accept our share in the accomplishment of His will or to reject it, as we choose.’ It would be difficult to over-emphasise or to exaggerate the immensity of the choice before us.

“We are witnessing to-day a great struggle between the forces of revolution and the forces of education. If my main contention be right, little in our past, and perhaps less even in our present, gives more than a reasonable hope as to what the outcome will be, but at least the issue will largely be determined by the attitude which spiritually-minded men and women to-day take to the great question of education. If they belittle it, if they regard it as a luxury, or if they conceive of it as merely an intellectual thing, grave difficulties and perplexities await us—perhaps even disaster. But if the great Body of Christ’s Church on earth will recognise and exploit to the full the spiritual

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resources of education, posterity will yet see that through the ages there has been something which has not only made for righteousness, but made righteousness actually to exist in the social order of mankind.

“To end on a more definite note, four observations may be made which are implied on many pages of our Report.

“In the first place, life is to be regarded as a unity.

“From this it naturally follows that in each individual life there is needed some dominant purpose in terms of which the whole life may be integrated. Such a purpose must be not only all-embracing, but if it is to satisfy the needs of a living personality it must be centred in a person. The essential aim of Christian education is therefore ‘consistency of feeling, of thought, and of conduct, based upon a fundamental love for the supreme reality of existence, a love for God as He is revealed for us in Jesus Christ.’

“It is still more important to realise that in that unity the spiritual element should be dominant, rather than the intellectual or the ethical. We are by nature beings of emotion. Because of this we have urged that the task of education ‘is primarily the creating of new and personal values, of emancipating men from the superficial and phenomenal, from machinery and the tyranny of things, and attaching them by love to God in Christ, to God so translated and interpreted as to become intelligible to human minds, responsive to human hearts, at once enthralling and liberating to human wills.’

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“Finally, the Universe in which we live and which we would interpret to ourselves and to our children is to be regarded as a living Universe. From this it follows, as Dr. Jacks has recently pointed out, that ‘we should look for reality in the field of action, that we should school ourselves to think of the highest as that which can be acted and not that which can be spoken only. Speak it, we cannot. Act it, we can; thereby making it clear to ourselves and communicating it clearly to others.’ ”

Recommendations I–V were accepted without discussion.

Mr. E. SALTER DAVIES (Member of the Commission) introduced Recommendations VI–XXX.

“From the days of Aristotle there have been conflicting views in regard to the meaning and purpose of education. The Report attempts no exact definition, but from the Foreword to the last page there is a common conception of what education really is and what are the results at which it should aim—a conception founded upon ‘the basic facts of our relation to God revealed by Christ or implicitly sanctioned by Him.’

“At the very outset it protests against the common tendency to regard education as primarily an intellectual process, concerning itself only incidentally with moral issues and with personal relationships. It points out that Christ was ‘not specially concerned with mere knowledge of facts or things. . . . His stress is upon a right attitude towards God and to the family of God’s children.’

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“This view of education is in accordance with the teaching of educationists throughout the ages. To Plato the supreme end of education was to produce ‘likeness to God, so far as that is possible to man.’ ‘It has been the great error of modern intelligence,’ said Ruskin, ‘to mistake science for education.’ True education, he said, has no other function than the development of the natural perception of beauty, fitness and rightness, or of what is lovely, decent and just, and of the relative will: ‘You do not educate a man by telling him what he knows not, but by making him what he was not.’

“Maeterlinck, in *The Betrothal*, imagines in each of us four shadowy personalities: the artist who craves for beauty, the scholar who seeks knowledge, the worker who wishes to express himself in useful economic activity, and the saint who desires a moral end which transcends himself.

“We are not all creative artists, but we all take pleasure in beauty. We are not all scholars, but we are all curious for knowledge. We are not all successful in the world of affairs, but we all desire to express ourselves by doing our share of the world’s work. We do not all ‘seek first the Kingdom of God,’ but until we are able to reconcile our individual interests with the interests of our fellows, we remain unsatisfied. As Carlyle said, ‘Always there is a black spot in our sunshine. It is ever the shadow of ourselves.’

“These ghostly personalities do not exist as separate and disconnected entities, but are inter-related. It is the supreme object of education to

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bring them into complete harmony with one another, to produce a single personality which is a kingdom at peace within itself, with knowledge and feeling and will unified—to produce citizens of the Kingdom of God who find the highest realisation of themselves in service to God and to their fellows.

“From this conception of education it necessarily follows, *first*, that the Christian can have no sympathy for the view that education is an intellectual process from which only those of marked intellectual capacity are capable of deriving more than the beggarly elements of learning, and that the great mass of common people are, for the educationist, useless material. From the Christian standpoint education is a universal need and a universal right. (Cf. Report, p. 199.)

“*Secondly*, education cannot be limited to the brief years of schooling. It is a continuous process which begins at birth and continues to—and, as we believe, beyond—death. Adult education is, therefore, ‘not an extra. It is the natural continuation and development of all that education during childhood and youth should accomplish.’

“*Thirdly*, ‘organised education,’ that is, ‘schooling,’ bears an intimate relation to the more casual and less systematic education in the home and elsewhere. If education is to fulfil its purpose, there must be close and constant co-operation between the teacher and the parent, between the school and the home—and the Church. ‘There are no water-tight doors in life’—or in education.

“*Fourthly*, since education is for all, it must

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take great variety of form. The tendency towards uniformity must be resisted. To suit the varying capacity and temperament of children and young persons the method and type of educational provision must be 'immensely diversified' as regards both curriculum and type of school.

"*Fifthly*, nevertheless, since the object of education is to fit for 'complete living,' all types of school must have a curriculum which meets the common needs of the human spirit—for beauty, truth, usefulness and goodness.

" 'Whatever we study or teach must not be isolated from the great circle of truth or detached from the idea of God.'

"*Sixthly*, the personal qualities of the teacher are supremely important: 'Education depends, not so much on the subjects taught us as upon the personal quality of the teacher—upon living under the influence of persons who are themselves saturated with Christianity.'

"Universality, Continuity, Co-operation, Variety, Community of Purpose, Personality of Teacher—these are the six principles which I wish to emphasise.

"Next, these principles require a general re-arrangement of our educational system, 'so that primary and secondary schools will mark real educational stages instead of suggesting social distinctions.' There will be a transfer from the Primary School to some form of Secondary School about the age of twelve.

"The Report calls attention to the grave defects in our present Elementary School arrangements.

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The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education said, a few years ago :

“ ‘ Not less than a quarter of a million children of school age are seriously crippled, invalided or disabled ; not less than a million (that is, one-sixth of the total number) are so physically or mentally defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefits from the education the State provides.’ ”

“ Much has been, and is being done, but only those who are intimately concerned know the crying need for more provision for the physically and the mentally defective. It is sheer waste to send to the ordinary classes in the Elementary School children who are mentally defective. They get no advantage themselves and seriously interfere with the progress of the normal children. If, however, such children can be dealt with in special classes or special schools, they are capable of profiting from the education they receive to such an extent that, when they leave, they can earn their own living. To educate them so is not waste but the truest economy. The mentally defective who are not educable should be segregated in Institutions where they cannot do mischief to the community. To refuse to make such provision for them is not economy but the most costly extravagance.

“ The Report calls attention to the deplorable condition of many of our Elementary School buildings, both in urban and in rural areas, as well as to the defective organisation which is often largely due to the defects of the building. In place of

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‘homes of romance’ we have ‘huge “efficient” barracks girt round with little asphalt yards, or . . . insanitary buildings that await the condemnation of the authorities.’ In these ‘the hapless teacher has to wrestle with and tame fifty infants or seventy-five, or, as in some rural areas, has to handle thirty children of all ages and standards.’

“No one who knows the facts can allege that the picture is overdrawn. Among the many matters in our educational arrangements which call for reform, this is the most crucial and the most urgent and the most costly.

“And what about continued education beyond the elementary stage?

“‘The most serious injury done to the humanity of each generation of young life . . . is the cutting short of organised education at a critical stage.’

“The need is emphasised for ‘positive organised education (whole or part-time) through the years of adolescence.’

“‘Less than five per cent. of the whole number of children in Elementary Schools go on to grant-earning Secondary Schools.’ For the great majority of our future citizens, organised education ceases absolutely at the age of fourteen. There are not nearly enough Secondary Schools. Those which exist are generally overcrowded, and the provision of Free Places and of Maintenance Allowances is hopelessly inadequate. Greater variety, too, is wanted.

“We need Central Schools where the older or

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more advanced children from the Elementary Schools can continue their full-time education until the age of sixteen. Especially while the upper age limit from compulsory full-time attendance at school remains at fourteen, we urgently need provision for part-time Day Continuation Schools, at which those boys and girls who are forced by present conditions to enter at an early age into industry may at once increase their vocational knowledge and aptitude, and pursue those studies which will give them 'an all-round human enlightenment and sympathy'—studies which, in the words of the draft of the Education Act of 1918, will help 'to fit them for the freedom and responsibilities of adult life.' In one form or another, all our young people should remain under educational influences throughout the years of adolescence, 'which are psychologically of supreme importance for every kind of spiritual development.'

"Finally, if the ideals set out in the Report are gradually, but surely, to be realised, there is needed, on the part of the public, a new attitude towards education and towards educational expenditure. Their voices should be raised against those who say 'the beggarly elements of education are quite enough for those members of the nation who will do its rough and unskilled work. We cannot afford to spend any more money on education, and that if we did it would be waste.'

"Increased educational opportunity will lead to increased productivity, and to economies in expenditure on public health, the administration of justice, public relief and the like. The nation

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would gain from increased educational expenditure financially as well as morally and spiritually.

“But whether this is so or not, ‘all Christian people should be prepared to shoulder their share of whatever financial burden is involved, and to do all in their power to create a public opinion which will willingly accept the necessary obligations.’

“If men and women who claim to be of the community of Jesus would see the vision of things as they might be, the ‘occasional vision’ might be made universal, and ‘the baffled work of devoted teachers allowed its chance.’

“The ideals embodied in this Report are not the ideals of ineffective visionaries. They are ‘rooted in common-sense,’ and ‘given a real perception of the supreme human purpose of the schools, then all these things will be added.’ ”

Discussion

The Rev. J. D. COCHRANE (Dumfries, Church of Scotland) suggested that one of the factors which produced the breakdown of civilisation at the period of the Great War was the selfish basis of our system of education. The impetus behind it was the prospect of more power, wealth and status. He urged the Conference to combat this selfish idealism, so that our youths might be sent out from the higher schools, etc., with high ideals of Christian citizenship, using their splendid learning to serve God and uplift humanity. When one tried to set these ideals before the head-masters, they always asked him if he could recommend a set of

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text-books that covered the leading principles of Christian citizenship. He had to say "No." Copec would do something for the country and for the Kingdom of God if it would appoint a man or a Committee to devise such a set of text-books. Teachers in many schools would be glad to accept them.

Mr. HERBERT H. ELVIN (Leigh-on-Sea—General Secretary of the National Union of Clerks and Administrative Workers) referred to p. 156 of the Report concerning the meagreness of education in the Bible and the application of Christian principles to personal social life. Education was the key of the rest of the subjects. Without knowledge we really could not have life. It was wrong to be wilfully ignorant and it was wrong to withhold knowledge from other people. We should become students in order that we might become teachers, thereby increasing our own knowledge of people and their problems. Lack of knowledge of social problems was one of the greatest national defects.

The highest knowledge was to know Him who was our Redeemer, and the Power of His Resurrection, and yet few of us could claim that knowledge, because we had not realised that we could only know Christ properly if we knew our fellow-creatures. We who professed to be followers of Jesus Christ should acquire all the knowledge possible of social problems.

Rev. HERBERT J. BUXTON (London—International Relations Commission) said we should not limit our thoughts to this country or these islands. Conditions of child life in other parts of the world

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claimed our serious attention. In India, nearly half the children born died before they were five years old. In China the feet of girls in the country districts were still bound. In England, year by year, hundreds of children were thrown on the labour market, without the least possibility of being able to earn a decent livelihood. In Germany, a generation weak and enfeebled through lack of nourishment was growing up. Against these evils the Christian Church must wage incessant war.

Mr. Buxton quoted the Declaration of Geneva as a "Charter of Childhood," adopted by a Conference last year representing over forty different countries. Men and women of all nations recognised that mankind owed to the child the best it could give; that above all considerations of race and creed the child must be the first consideration.

Rev. T. A. JEFFERIES (London—United Methodist Church) supported the Report. He thought it might have given more help in one direction by a more adequate treatment of the Sunday School question. Many people in the Sunday School movement were striving hard against misunderstanding, to make Sunday Schools really effective instruments of religious education, and Copec should give them more backing. The importance of the Sunday School needed underlining in view of the grave danger of religious education becoming extinct in the day schools. In that day the Sunday School would be the only hope in this country. The Churches must put their religious educational work in order. One of the best means for the

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higher education of adolescents was to let them teach, and in our Sunday Schools we could provide increasing opportunities for young people to do so. There must be adequate training of the workers, for the mental effort demanded was one of the greatest factors in developing characters.

Councillor J. WESLEY CLIFT (Wellington, Salop—National Sunday School Union) referred to p. 198 of the Report. He produced a diagram showing that 46 per cent. of the population were potential scholars. Even allowing for the number under four years of age, the possibilities were enormous. Fourteen and a half million young people were potential Sunday Scholars, but in all our schools there were only about seven millions. He hoped the result of the Conference would be for many delegates to determine upon taking up the work. On the importance of religious decision, Mr. Clift said investigation gave astounding results. The bulk of decisions were on this side of the half-way mark in life.

Mrs. LLOYD PAGE (Southampton—Primitive Methodist Church) appealed for a more adequate report concerning Training Colleges for teachers, who were the ultimate medium of education. Legislation might be idealistic, but the chief point was missed if the heart of the teacher was not reached. The pity was that so few young people regarded the profession solely as a vocation. Their teaching was visionless, yet the opportunity presented to the teacher was even comparable with the sphere of the Ministry.

“How can we direct them to an aspect of things

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that is mainly spiritual? I suggest this Conference should establish a point of contact with the Training Colleges. We are proud of the Student Christian Movement, with its worth-while outlook. It has touched many who for the first time have come under religious influence, but it teaches only those who voluntarily place themselves in contact with it. Can Copec appoint missionaries to visit the Colleges and carry the message of this Conference where it is most needed?"

MISS ZOE FAIRFIELD (London—Student Christian Movement) called attention to the importance of Resolutions VII, VIII, and IX. Nothing could be more important than for the Conference to pledge itself to gain real knowledge of the difficulties under which training was carried on. In 1920-21 there were over 15,000 students being trained, in most cases for two-year courses. Something like half that number went out fresh into the schools every year. More important than buildings, equipment, curricula or anything else was the character of the teacher. If the curriculum was so crowded that there was hardly time for personal development, or for learning the great truth that God is supreme but man is free, it could not be hoped that the Colleges would produce the type of character necessary for the educative work of the country. The most important fundamental thing was the work in the Elementary Schools.

The conditions in many colleges contradicted the Christian principle. The fault did not lie with the staffs, the students, or the Board of Education. It lay with the public generally, who must give

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more thought, interest, understanding and money. If the enthusiastic opinion of the Conference could be got behind the voluntary work which was being done, a big change would come very rapidly. It could be shown in two special ways: (a) In the matter of general conditions. (b) In the question of religious training. No big change could come without many years of consistent voluntary effort inside and outside the Colleges to promote the kind of training needed.

Rev. W. J. DOWNES (Tonbridge—Congregational Union), "not as a crank but as an incorrigible idealist," moved an additional resolution to appear as XVII a.

"The clamant needs of to-day are (a) that all people should gain a wider world-outlook which will induce an efficient world-co-operation, (b) that they should gain a knowledge of one another which will ensure a real mutual respect and appreciation, without which no League of Nations can ever be possible. Seeing that one of the most effective means of attaining these ends is to be found in the adoption of an international *auxiliary* language, and seeing that *Esperanto*, under severest tests, has conclusively proved its adequacy, it is urgent (1) that this Auxiliary language should be taught in all public Elementary Schools, and in the various centres of higher education, both public and private, (2) that the Church should make immediate use of the facilities already available for the teaching of *Esperanto*, and on the basis of this common language should organise personal contacts (interchange) of

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visits or correspondence) with the children and adults of other lands."

The CHAIRMAN asked Mr. Downes to be content with having drawn attention to the matter.

Mr. WM. H. F. ALEXANDER (Banbury—Society of Friends) said he knew of children who thoroughly enjoyed learning Esperanto in a Board School. His main point was concerned with pp. 64 to 76. There was a striking failure on p. 74 to give any clear Christ-note against the prevalence of the spirit antagonistic to all Christianity. He referred to the training of boys and youths for organised human slaughter. The Report did not guide, but merely stated conflicting views. The whole spirit of military training was based upon division of nations and readiness to devastate and kill—the absolute negation of the ideal set forth in the Report.

It was claimed that this training and drill had a good moral and physical effect, but there were other forms of drill, games, leisure pursuits, which gave equally good results. Quaker Schools in England and Australia got physical development, team spirit, sense of citizenship and humanity without military drill. They had no difficulty in getting volunteers for relief and reconstruction work at peril of life during and since the war, from their young men and women. Had this conference of Christ's people no lead to give?

Canon S. BLOFELD (Birmingham) said the public demanded that the schools should turn out boys and girls to work effectively in all kinds of callings,

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whereas true education must consider the child himself and his God-planted natural equipment, and not the means by which he was going to earn his livelihood. If we were out to strengthen him in his mind, to raise him to a higher self, to vivify him, to give him faith, hope and courage, to endow him with the power to serve, and to cultivate his faculties, the public attitude towards the whole scheme of education must be radically altered. When our schools became places where any keenness of the boy and girl was recognised and welcomed by the masters and mistresses and those at home, we should provide the child with a source in himself by which he would be able to get away from himself. Education could give man happiness in work by making his leisure happy. We must recognise that schools were not mechanical places in which the child learnt his livelihood, but were to train him for the whole of life, including leisure.

One thing gave great encouragement. There were 100 Training Colleges to-day in this country, and everyone was clamouring that every teacher should be brought in touch with the "unseen" during the course of training.

Mrs. HODSON (London—Eugenics Education Society) spoke to Recommendations XVIII, XIX and XXI. In supporting the necessity for religious instruction in schools, she urged that denominations which felt they could teach their own religion best should be supported in their endeavours. She would not speak of "our unhappy divisions"; they were "happy divisions." England is an

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enormous mixture of different stocks of different temperaments, etc. So the forms under which religion appeals should be correspondingly various and allow a much more unrestricted expression of individuality. There must always be difficulty in coming into contact with points of view foreign to our very nature. She also pleaded that the variety of public schools into which we have slipped "in our English and unconscious slipshod fashion" should be maintained.

MR. ALEXANDER C. WILSON (Manchester—Society of Friends) took a very different view from the last speaker. He wanted all children to be helped in religion by their parents in the spirit of the first chapter of the Report on the Home, by the work of the Churches and Sunday Schools. He deplored the last three lines of Recommendation XX: "The public Elementary School code, therefore, should cease to restrict religious instruction to the first or last period of the day's schooling." We must be just to the unorthodox, few or many, teachers or parents. He thought this Recommendation, if carried out, would plunge us into a horrible controversy like those of 1870 and later occasions. If Copec could help those who differed on this matter to an agreed conclusion it would do a great thing.

The Conference then gave general assent to Recommendations VI to XXX, and strongly recommended them to the Christian Churches as a basis for action.

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EVENING SESSION

Mr. R. B. HENDERSON (Headmaster, Dulwich School, Member of the Commission) took the place of Dr. Maxwell Garnett and introduced Recommendations XXXI-XLVIII.

“The time has come to forget the religious controversies that began in 1870. They never had any reality in the schools themselves and they form a not very creditable chapter of ecclesiastical history.

“A small proportion of parents are able to employ nursemaids to relieve them from the constant attention and care of their children. They should be very careful in the choice of those to whom they thus surrender a parent's rights. But the great majority of mothers cannot afford to engage nursemaids; neither have they time nor space to fulfil this responsibility adequately themselves. For this reason we commend the nursery and infant schools, which, under present conditions, meet a very real need. It is unfortunate that they have of late been restricted.

“As you came into Birmingham by train you passed through miles and miles of dull drab streets. Into those slums children are born and in them they receive their impressions as they grow. The Report calls attention to these conditions, so prevalent in all our towns, because we are sure that if all Christian people realised the existing state of things they would tolerate it no longer. It is a sad comment on the conscience of Christendom that children should be born into conditions hardly fit for the lower beasts. Indeed, lambs have fields

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in which to play but children have to use the streets. The playing-fields of the Primary Schools can be described very briefly : they do not exist. That is why they use the streets—and sometimes there are complaints about their being allowed to play even there. Where else are they to play? The young of all animals delight to play and it is a necessity for their proper growth. This is especially true of human beings. But the play needs to be properly organised and full provision should be made for it.

“ In the schools the size of classes is of high importance ; they should be reduced in size to the number of thirty-five or thereabouts. True, there are some classes of about this number in Elementary Schools—but they are in country districts where one teacher has to deal with boys and girls of all ages !

“ The personality of the teacher is all important. We want teachers who dream dreams and see visions, and having got them we must see that their conditions are such that the hope of the dream is not a mockery and that the vision remains undimmed. But I need hardly say that such conditions are not prevalent to-day.

“ The value of the corporate life of the school ought to be more fully realised by parents and by the public at large than it is in the case of Elementary Schools to-day. Then the influence of the home would be a support to the influence of the school. ‘ All the institutions in which this common life expresses itself—games, societies, councils and the rest—foster the spirit of comradeship and service, bring to birth the sense of responsibility, enlist the

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individual in a wider life and enlarge the personality' (Report, p. 125).

"As a first step to these reforms the Fisher Act must be put into force. If the Churches had supported that Act as it deserved to be supported it would have been impossible for any Government to suggest its postponement. The demand for education after the war was enormous—and it is still great—but this enthusiasm, instead of being encouraged, has been almost deliberately thwarted and damped. The Fisher Act remains an act of faith; it is ours to see that faith 'bids eternal truth be present fact.' "

Discussion

Sir HARRY VERNEY, Bt., D.S.O. (Steeple Claydon—Oxford Diocesan Conference), described two experiments by which the authorities of Buckinghamshire had tried to bring more art into Elementary Schools. The first was a musical festival for eight small schools, at trifling expense, and something of the spirit of music had really entered into the children. Secondly, they had a "picture committee" under the Education Committee, with two aims.

(a) To see that in every school there should be at least five good pictures on the walls—not expensive, but beautiful.

(b) That these pictures should be changed every year. Thus in eight years of normal school-life the child came to know forty beautiful pictures. Such a committee could always get plenty of voluntary help.

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People were very ready to give pictures. But the committee must have power to reject—and use it.

Miss R. AMY PENNETHORNE (London—Parents' National Educational Union) said, the education given as a nation to the nation depended on the teacher, and on the ratepayers' belief in the ordinary child's capacity. Speaking of Resolution XXXVI, Miss Pennethorne said the Elementary School must be regarded as a stage in education, not as a different kind of education. Many educational societies were now giving the very best, according to their different ideals and methods, to the children. If we believed that the child could grow to the measure of the stature of the fullness of the Christ, we must give him the opportunity so to grow.

Mrs. E. M. ALCOCK (Glasgow—Member of Sex Commission) asked the Conference to lay stress upon the recommendation which dealt with the size of classes. There was no use talking of ideals unless we were prepared to lay a firm foundation, and to do so we must begin at the very beginning of education with the very smallest child. The teacher required to know each child separately, which meant classes of manageable size. What was the good of training teachers in this splendid way if they could not be given a chance of putting their training into use? One teacher with a class of great size said, "I can't teach. All I can do is to bully a lot of little kids into keeping quiet."

Mr. GRANT ROBERTSON, M.V.O. (Birmingham University) submitted that some very practical steps should be taken to carry out some of the

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things that Copec wanted to see done in the next twelve months. Let them select three or four of the most important, and concentrate upon them and get them put into legislation and administration. The first thing wanted was more money for education; the next, to see on what it was most important to spend it. He suggested sending a message to the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Minister of Education, saying that Copec wanted to wait upon them, and insisted on being heard. Let the same action be directed towards Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. Let the same programme be put before them all. Let every county and local authority in the land be interviewed and told what Copec wanted. That would enable Copec to see its faith translated into action.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Reference Committee to deal with the suggestion.

The Conference gave general assent to Recommendations XXXI to XLVIII and strongly commended them to the Christian Churches for action.

Rev. B. A. YEAXLEE said :

“Peter Pan in a play is a charming person. We all want to keep the child-spirit alive throughout the seven ages of man. But Peter Pan in real life is a pathetic tragedy, and a danger. The world is full of ‘the Ungrownups.’ That accounts very largely for its present plight. Should we have had the war, Versailles, the Ruhr, unemployment, the blight upon children leaving school, if the peoples

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of Europe had known a little more of history, of economics, of ethics, of each other, and had perceived that you cannot without disaster separate the spiritual from the material, the personal from the social, the national from the international?

“We are told that the business of the Church at times of political or industrial crisis is to make the moral issue clear. But how can she do this if people do not know the facts and are not disciplined in judgment?

“The aim of adult education is to enable people to acquire not only information, but above all a true scale of spiritual values: to produce the very qualities, personal and social, needed for the good life which the world is blindly seeking.

“The Report shows a rapidly rising demand for adult education, more marked, though not more to be desired, among the working than among the middle classes. Considering the size of our population and the fact that the movement is more than a century old, there ought to be a greater demand still. How to stimulate this is the primary task of the voluntary organisations. They have made magnificent efforts, and owe their success to their understanding of people's dominant interests, and their use of existing groupings, such as trade unions and co-operative societies. How much do we really know about the W.E.A., the Adult Schools, the Co-operative Education Committees, the University Extension Committees, the Plebs League, the Women's Institutes, the Y.M.C.A., the Educational Settlements? The Report suggests that it is not a question of kindness, but of Christian duty, that

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we should participate humbly and whole-heartedly in their endeavours.

“The voluntary organisations cannot stand alone. The Universities must regard adult education not as one of their charities, but as a normal part of their service to the nation. Adult education must be given its proportionate place by the Board of Education and the Local Education Authorities in that complete system of education they are required by law to provide. For, much as the movement owes to the enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of voluntary leaders and teachers, it cannot cope with its task unless it has also men and women who are free to devote their whole energies to the work.

“Where, you say, do the Churches and individual Christians come into all this? Well, if they had grasped the spiritual potentialities, they would have thrown themselves into the practical work of these voluntary bodies, and would have used their united influence in backing their claim to adequate assistance from the Universities and the statutory Authorities. The Universities are showing that they desire to develop adult education departments on an adequate scale. Many Local Education Authorities are doing their utmost to help. The President of the Board of Education has said, ‘tell me what you want done: above all, give me the money to do it.’ While adult students insist on self-determination and freedom to experiment, they are perfectly willing to bring their work up to a high standard such as will justify the expenditure of public money in aiding it. The responsibility of public bodies is not to organise or control adult

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education, but to see that proper provision is being made and to find a substantial part of the cost. But these public bodies themselves need the reinforcement of public opinion, national and local. This is where the majority of Christian people have failed them, either through ignorance or through indifference. Yet surely here, if anywhere, Christian unity in action is immediately feasible.

“Christian leadership has been one of the creative forces in the adult education movement. The first Adult Schools were founded to teach people to read the Bible. In the middle of last century the movement was revived in this very city of Birmingham by Joseph Sturge and William White, great Quakers and great citizens of the world. F. D. Maurice and his wonderful group of Christian Socialists started the Working Men’s College in 1854. Albert Mansbridge founded the W.E.A.; William Temple was its first president and still occupies that office; R. H. Tawney taught its first tutorial classes. Horace Fleming has revealed the possibilities of the more recent Educational Settlement movement in his ten years’ work at Beechcroft, Birkenhead. But the Church too often forgets or ignores the work of her own children.

“One of the most pressing demands that we make of the Churches is that they should put their own house in order. In a brief speech generalisations are inevitable. Churches do indeed vary. The Roman Catholics and the Quakers are at present giving us the clearest lead with regard to the education of their adult members in the Bible, the meaning of the Christian faith and the history

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of the Christian Church, in the relation of the Christian ethic to social and international life. There are a few noteworthy experiments to be found in other Churches, such as the Anglican Church Tutorial Classes or the King's Weigh House Tutorial Classes. But on the whole it is true to say that the Churches are completely neglecting to provide opportunities of systematic education for adults. One of the reasons why the Churches lose their grip upon so many keen men and women to-day is that they fail so lamentably to fulfil the great Commission—'*teach.*' The method of Jesus with His little group of adult students, moreover, is the only method which our own time finds likely to attract or successful in its results. It awakens the mind, the imagination, the conscience, the will, by confronting them with facts and arousing them to the search for principles which accord with reality. If only the Churches will examine themselves in this matter, take counsel together, and make an adventure, even at the cost of whist drives, socials, or many of the conventional Sunday and week-night "Church engagements" which at present absorb their energies, they have an immense contribution to make to adult education.

"I am charged by my colleagues to say a little about books. Everybody reads nowadays. But what? Have they, despite the ever-increasing flood of books, access to the best of every kind? It may be doubted whether all our efforts in adult education more than make up for the mischievous effects of casual reading by those unattracted by the organised forms of adult education. I know

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one suburb of 30,000 people where there are four flourishing private libraries, consisting almost wholly of novels, while all attempts to get a public library meet with definite opposition. Not far from it is a borough of 190,084 inhabitants with a thoroughly enlightened Libraries Committee and Librarian. It has already six libraries and proposes to add three or four more. Of 740,178 issues of books last year, 62 per cent. were non-fiction, and the fiction was almost entirely of the standard character. What are we doing as Christian citizens in this matter? The librarians almost to a man have educational ideals. The Carnegie Trustees have made an offer calculated to revolutionise the rural libraries of this country, yet only about half the county councils have accepted it and put the Libraries Act of 1919 into operation. We have a clear responsibility in these matters and the Report suggests detailed ways of discharging it.

“Finally, concerning Finance. The only chapter of the Report quoted *in extenso* as a recommendation is this chapter on finance. Its brevity makes that possible. But, like a cheque, the briefest of documents, this chapter may also be one of the most exhaustive. To be orthodox, one ought to compare our national expenditure on education with the cost of five cruisers, or the annual turnover on betting. These comparisons are striking and ingenious. But they do not move me deeply. Without being at all flippant, I would rather suggest the frequent use of one's demand note for rates and income-tax among other manuals of devotion. Can we consider the detailed analysis of that ex-

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penditure as anything but a revelation of corporate sins both of omission and of commission, for which each of us has a personal share of responsibility?

“The estimated expenditure of the Board of Education on all forms of education during the year 1922-23 was £46,226,000; to this must be added a net expenditure of £33,822,000 by the local Education Authorities. Thus from rates and taxes in 1922-23 we spent on education in England some £80,048,000. The total estimate for last year is five million pounds less. That for this year is less still.

“I am convinced that if you can show the extent and significance of the work to be done, if you can thrill some people with a sense of its glorious possibilities, money will be found. Things will fall into the right perspective. In any event Utopia will not be reached to-morrow. Teachers must be adequately trained in sufficient numbers, buildings provided, parents educated into the ability to play their part in education. We have endeavoured to take long views. But to achieve anything at all will mean sacrifice, and continued sacrifice. Consider what you do in passing, as I trust you will pass, this recommendation on Finance. People dismiss the story of Ananias and Sapphira as a crude tale of a harsh judgment. In truth it embodies an inexorable principle. At our peril, if we say we are prepared for sacrifice, we hold back part of the price. Let us rather recall that other story enshrining a secret that this Conference exists to share with all the world. It is told of certain early Christians that they did not fail when

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their religion touched their pockets because 'first of all they gave their own selves.' "

Discussion

Rev. G. CURRIE MARTIN (London—Adult School Union) said the Adult Schools were pioneers in the adult education of this country. The Adult School Union had always said there was nobody so lost to goodness that he could not be lifted up. Their methods might be described as exploration of the truth, and fellowship.

Mr. C. R. SIMPSON (London—Society of Friends) said thousands and millions among the working classes were unable to take their real place as citizens of this great country. As Warden of an adult education settlement, he had seen a marvellous development of soul, widening of outlook, and deepening of spirit. A political revolution was taking place. In the next few years we were going to be governed by the working class; even for "safety first" we must go for adult education. In his borough 75,000 people made no demand for abolition of terrible overcrowding nor were alive to what was in their power through Acts already in force. Education of the child was dependent on education of the parents.

Mr. E. W. MUNDY (London) also praised the Adult School Movement, and commended the educative system carried out at Bournville, as calculated to impart fine knowledge of every sort. What would an educated community be like? It was a most revolutionary thought! Some said only a small proportion of children was worth

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educating. That was a lie! Most people wanted others less educated than themselves. "Who would black their boots?" In a fully-educated State, industry would produce more abundantly. There was no need to have a ladder of education, for the workers wanted the whole broad highway. The low life and the slums of to-day were due to our being only half-educated.

Mrs. BARCLAY (London—Mothers' Union) said it was in the hands of the parents that the most important part of education lay. Education began with the cradle, and went on until we arrived at that perfection which was God's will for us. In the early years it lay particularly in the hands of the mothers, though fathers could not shirk their responsibility. The foundations of character were laid in the early years, and school education was built on those foundations. There must be co-operation between parents and teachers. Too many teachers thought all mothers were fools.

Surely this Conference could send one encouraging word of guidance to the parents.

The child's eternal "Why"—"Why am I here and where am I going?" must be answered in the early years. Would the Conference get down to a clear statement in simple words that all could understand? Children must be brought right up to the fact of God. To find our place in His purpose was the only end which made the struggle worth while.

Mr. O. KANDASWAMI CHETTY (Madras) spoke of Christian Missionary education and its place in the realisation of the Kingdom.

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He was surprised that classes in England could be so large; in Madras the limit was forty. Missionary education made one realise the width of the world and the size of the human family, and that all the many types and races were part of God's human crown. It taught us not to think of any men as barbarians, but as beings possessed of souls. The missionaries were uniting the Churches at home because the various denominations were compelled to work together in the Mission field. The Hindu had a great selective power, and knew how to choose the best, and if the Christian nations would only present the single doctrine that God was love, India would turn Christian to-morrow. India wanted the moral influence of Christianity and its energising power. In India they needed to apply Christian principles to social problems, such as the fight against caste. India was at the cross-roads, in the midst of a political crisis, and if it was to be tided over there must be men to carry the spirit of this Conference into India. England's representatives and merchants should be imbued with this spirit, and the message of Copec should be broadcast.

The Conference gave general assent to Recommendations XLIX to LVI, and commended them to the Christian Churches as a basis of action.

Sir HENRY HADOW, summing up the debate, said the Report was one of the most interesting and suggestive documents on the subject of education he had ever seen. If it was true that the value of a new book might be estimated by the amount of criticism and commentary it inspired, then the

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success of this Report had been assured. The most valuable and suggestive thing in the discussion was the entire denial of the separation of religious from any other kind of education. Some people still interpreted the Commandment "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" as if it meant "Remember the days of the week to keep them secular." Not more unreasonable was the belief that one could separate one whole department of education by a gulf from the rest, and give it exclusively the name of religion. Isaiah was needed as well as Shakespeare: the Sermon on the Mount as well as Bacon. Gregory Thaumaturgus said that his tutor, Origen, "expounded to him the holy—mathematics"!

The objects of education were twofold: to present the truth and to fit the mind of man for its reception. There were not many kinds of truth, but only one kind, that spelt integrity of mind, which saw and revealed that which was. The sternest of great philosophers and the most sensuous of all English poets had agreed that the basis of artistic beauty was truth. The bad pictures which used to disfigure our class-rooms were bad because they travestied the truth. The bad music often heard in our theatres and sung in our churches was bad because it disregarded the truth, and aimed only at tickling some ganglion of sense or emotion. This idea of bringing religion into the ordinary current of education might be considered Utopian, but they had had actual experience at Sheffield to the contrary. One speaker to-day had told us that our present system of education was fostering materialism and

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selfishness. Sir Henry did not believe a word of it. There was an enormous amount of public spirit and an enormous amount of interest in spiritual things.

There was one terrible sentence which was often quoted with disapproval in the Report, but which was prevalent and current in the world: "Give me the child up to five years of age, after which anyone can have him." This meant stunting, cramping and crippling the growth of the child's mind. In the vast majority of cases Sir Henry believed it to be totally untrue. The child, of course, was father to the man, and the God-given attributes with which he started were those which took him through mentally. It was not true that each of us did not find new means of cultivation as life went on. The word of the Lord spoke to men at a great many different ages.

Sir Henry had forgotten a great deal of the logic which he once proposed to teach, but he remembered that to expose the fundamental conception of anything was to define it. Education meant feeding and exercising. This is not a metaphor but the exact translation of the Latin original. It meant putting the right materials before the child and encouraging him by training to use the muscles with which to deal with that material. One could not teach people to be artists or scholars or good citizens. All one could do was to put before them the material by which they could exercise their powers, and help them with some statement as to the method by which that exercise could be most easily carried out. That implied

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defining the element in each of us which was to be trained and developed through our educational system.

The object, therefore, of all our education was to liken ourselves as far as possible to God, and thereby to co-operate with Him in the purpose which He had for our lives.

THE HOME

TUESDAY MORNING

Rev. A. E. GARVIE, D.D., presiding.

Capt. R. L. REISS (Chairman of the Commission) introduced the Report.

“We found it necessary, at the outset, to discuss the broad questions. How far is the family relation a permanent factor in Christian civilisation? and How far is the individual family living in an individual home the ideal unit in the structure of society? The latter question arises from suggestions made from time to time that we should have a more co-operative form of living in which children were more the concern of the community than of the parents. We conclude, however, that, at any rate for many generations to come, the individual home will best meet human requirements.

“What is the ideal of family life, and how far can family life contribute to the coming of the Christian Commonwealth? Despite the many failures and the many disruptive forces at all periods of history, the ideal of family life has steadily progressed through the ages and more particularly during the Christian era. Not merely has the ideal been raised; there has also been a steady improve-

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ment in practice. But this constant evolution has involved changes in ideas and habits, and resulted in conflicts between the older and the younger generations. Older people often deplore these changes by a rather superficial observation of the younger generation. For instance, it is common to-day to hear criticism of 'the modern girl,' as if all girls painted their faces, powdered their noses and spent their lives in a general round of amusement.

"No doubt young people of both sexes have to-day greater freedom than in the past, but while this may in certain cases mean a round of dances and other amusements, it also means in many others much more solid work and service to the community than was practised by previous generations when they were young.

"Victorian mammas, by keeping their daughters in the drawing-room doing needlework, may have kept them from a certain amount of evil, but certainly prevented them from being of much positive good. Undoubtedly the tendency, both now and in the future, will be towards a greater freedom for the individual members of a family. But this in itself is not a bad thing. It will be for good, provided there is greater comradeship in the relation of parents and children than when children addressed their father as 'Sir.'

"Clearly our Lord regarded the family as the ideal basis of the social structure. The fact that He constantly used such phrases as brotherhood and fatherhood to indicate the relation between God and man, and the relation between men and their neighbours, showed that He wanted families to be

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the training-ground for the relation between people generally. While, however, the close relation of members of a family to each other is the right basis for the structure of our existing civilisation, it becomes actually harmful if it leads to enlarged selfishness. In our society generally we want human action to be based on service rather than on profit or gain. This spirit of service can be best learned and practised in the home. Rightly learned it will and must become the basis of action in the world at large.

“Our attitude to the home and the family may be summed up in the following terms:—‘First, the home is the supreme place of education and of training. Secondly, a Christian home means a home governed by equality in personal values—between parents, between parents and children, between family and servants, in relations between families. If we can achieve the rule of love in family relations, we shall have created a magnificent instrument, both for changing values throughout the world and for furthering the Kingdom of God in all generations.’

“Where, however, there is a conflict between duty to God and duty to the members of one’s family, the former must prevail. Our Lord Himself definitely stated that the acceptance of Him and His teaching would in many cases involve conflicts in the home. In fact, family life—and the spirit of love which should be at its root—is but a means to an end, though the best means to that end. The aim and object which is the end is the realisation of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.”

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Mrs. A. R. Pelly (Member of the Commission) introduced Resolutions 1, 2 and 3.

“That the home is of great importance to the Christian life has been felt for countless generations. This is because the home is at the centre of the whole social problem. The home is our chief means of spreading and preserving our Faith. It is at home that the majority of Christians first hear of Christ; and it is there that their characters are first formed. It is from homes that the Churches mainly draw their members and that the State receives its future citizens. The influence of the home upon the world is more far-reaching than that of any other institution. The best system of industry and the purest politics will not help us far if people do not or cannot have Christian homes. The spiritual aspect of home life—the spirit of approach to marriage, the atmosphere of the home, the attitude of all its members to each other, the training of character, the whole interplay between the responsibilities of the home to the community and the community to the home, is of such supreme moment that it requires far deeper thought and far more definite Christian teaching than it has received in the past.

“The great need in the world to-day is for moral power. We can only build a better society or a finer civilisation—we can only reform effectively and creatively—if we are possessed of a burning moral force—a consuming spiritual power. Now the home is the chief place where spiritual power is generated, and it is from the home that it flows, or

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does not flow, into the national life. Herein lies the profound importance of the home.

“It is, therefore, vital in any consideration of the application of Christianity to corporate life to think out first of all the implications of the great principles of Christianity in the home.

“The Commission has laid particular stress on three such principles :

“First, that love—love of the quality of God’s Love—must cover every aspect of family relations. Love is the basis of Christianity, and the home is the most natural unit for proving and using its power. This love brings joy, sacrifice and understanding. In the modern outlook on life there is need for Christians to stress that home-making is a vocation—perhaps the highest to which men and women can be called.

“Second, that such love will lead immediately to service for others, outside the home circle, and a keen personal enthusiasm to make all homes more beautiful and true.

“Third, the absolute equal value in the sight of God of every human soul. The personality of each member of the household will be respected and valued by all alike. Not only will this include the personality of the parents and the children, but of the servants and all who are included in the home.

“Some of the implications of these three principles have been worked out in our Report. On the basis of them, and on all that they imply, we have drawn up our first three Resolutions, which we now submit to you for your most earnest consideration.

“The point I would make concerning the fourth

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Resolution is that for its effective realisation it is dependent upon these three which you are about to consider.

“No reform, however splendid in itself, can be effective without the Christian motive behind it. Without the Holy Spirit we shall achieve nothing; with the Holy Spirit we can and shall remove the mountains of our present discontents.

“I would therefore ask you to accept these three Resolutions, believing that even the humblest of us can help to change values throughout the world and bring in Christ’s kingdom, if we will in very deed make Him the head of every individual household.”

Discussion

Mr. D. F. BASDEN (National Union for Christian Social Service) moved to add a rider to the first Resolution, “that no ordinary circumstances should be allowed to interfere with daily family worship.” He regretted that this was now the exception rather than the rule.

This was seconded.

Mr. A. BLACK (London—Shaftesbury Society) found himself challenged by the terms of the third Resolution, laying down equality of personality. This axiom was incredible to him. It was hard enough to be a Christian without being required to believe unbelievable things. Where was it taught in Scripture? Where in the Creeds? Where was it practised in the Church? It was nowhere laid down by our Lord’s summary of the law. He taught brotherhood, but not equality of personality. Human personality was only of value to God as it

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approximated to the standard of life in our Lord Jesus Christ.

On a division, however, the Conference voted with practical unanimity in favour of leaving the Resolution as it stood.

Mrs. Lloyd PAGE (Southampton—Primitive Methodist Church) stressed the importance of prenatal influences. People needed more teaching on the laws of heredity, without at all minimising the importance of environment. The spiritual condition of parents had great influence on the children born.

Miss G. A. GOLLOCK (London—International Review of Missions) criticised the Report for urging that the domestic service problem must be faced and not doing so itself. Where are we wrong? Though there were faults on both sides, she felt the greater part was with the employers rather than with the givers of domestic service, and gave instances. Are we going to allow those who enter our homes to serve to share them and be not merely servants but friends?

Rev. W. M. BARWELL (Harrogate—Free Church Fellowship) advocated an extension of the system of child adoption. There were thousands of childless husbands and wives who would be benefited by adopting children. A great opportunity was also offered to unmarried women. He spoke of the advantages on the child's part, saying that there were 46,000 in institutions and 220,000 receiving domiciliary help. He asked that the Reference Committee should consider the matter of the Bills before Parliament.

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The CHAIRMAN said the Executive did not think it fair to ask the Conference to support legislation with whose details they were not acquainted, but the matter would be considered by the Reference Committee.

Rev. J. H. WARD (Manchester—Copec Committee) said that through this Report Copec could be made of great effect in the world to-day. He regretted the decline of family life as economic development increased, for the family had always been the one centre from which there had emanated spiritual and moral power. He appealed to the delegates to go back and concentrate on rehabilitating the family life, that it might influence politics, economics and citizenship.

Miss E. MONCKTON JONES (Ely Diocesan Conference) spoke of those living below the poverty line who brought into the world innumerable children for whom no provision could be made. God had given us the power of creating man in His own image—had we the right to let the coin be debased?

It was no use making schools beautiful while those below the poverty line brought children into the world under such circumstances.

Rev. E. BENSON PERKINS (London—Wesleyan Methodist Church) stressed the relation between the drink evil and the home life of the country. We must realise that by improving the housing conditions we should not necessarily do away with the competition of the public-house. We needed new housing areas, but we could not break the vicious circle at one point only. We could help to break it also by reducing the facilities for obtaining

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alcoholic liquor. Unnecessary expenditure on drink was plunging many homes below the poverty line. Mr. Perkins asked the Conference to recognise the need for united Christian action against the drink evil.

Mr. Basden's rider was carried by a majority of those voting, and the first three Resolutions were then approved.

Capt. R. L. REISS then introduced Resolution 4 :

"The fourth Resolution deals with the fundamental principles contained in the latter half of the Report of the Commission. Granted the family ideals, what definite steps should be taken, what obligations are cast upon the community as a whole and upon the individuals as members of the community to secure reasonable social conditions for every family? We do not suggest that it is impossible for a family to lead a Christian life merely because it is living in slums or suffering from dire poverty. We do hold that extreme poverty and bad housing conditions are obstacles in the way of such living, and it is definitely un-Christian for members of the community to allow any family to suffer from such conditions.

"The existence of wide differences in wealth and the fact that many thousands of families suffer from extreme poverty and live in dilapidated and overcrowded dwellings is a great blot on our civilisation and prevents our being able to make any sort of claim that we are yet a Christian nation.

"The shortage of houses in Great Britain amounts

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to at least one million. As a result, large numbers of families are living under conditions of gross overcrowding or in dwellings which can only be classed as slums. A large proportion both have to live in slums and are overcrowded.

“ It is unnecessary to stress the existence of housing evils, which are well known. It is not always recognised, however, what these conditions involve. There would be less apathy with regard to the housing question if more people who live in comfortable conditions had first-hand experience of what slum conditions really involve. I may mention two or three instances, given by Dr. Chalmers, Medical Officer of Health for the city of Glasgow, which may help to bring home the gravity of the problem :

“ ‘ In a one-roomed house a father of fifty-two occupied the same bed with a mentally defective daughter of twenty-four, who had an illegitimate child of ten. In another, with space for five adults, a father and daughter shared the same bed. In another, a mother shared the same bed with two sons of nineteen and twenty years respectively. In two-roomed houses, in one instance, a son of nineteen and a daughter of twenty-one occupied the same bed ; and in another a son of nineteen and a daughter of twenty-five, who was pregnant.’

“ The results of bad housing may be briefly summed up as follows :

(a) Bad health.

(b) Excessive mortality.

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- (c) In many cases immorality and other vices.
- (d) Lack of opportunity for culture and education.

“The physical and moral dangers surrounding a family of either eight or ten who have to live in two small rooms are too obvious to need expansion, yet these are the conditions under which hundreds of thousands of people live to-day. I know a case where as many as fifty people are now living in a house originally built for one family. The parents have no chance, the children have no chance, and the community as a whole is bound to suffer from this fact.

“Broadly speaking, the propositions in regard to housing which we make are that every family should have a decent home; that the home should be planned for family life, with sufficient rooms to provide for the proper separation of the sexes, and sufficient air space and sunlight to secure health; and we would add that wherever there was a family of any size, a second sitting-room should give opportunities for culture and recreation. Many hundreds of thousands of such houses must be built, and no effort should be spared in planning them and arranging them in such a way that they will not merely satisfy present-day standards, but in the years to come will still be regarded as filling the needs of family life.

“Sufficient houses must be built not merely to relieve the shortage but to replace unfit houses. A minimum programme would be to build two million workers' houses in the next ten years, seeing

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that one hundred thousand houses a year are required in order to meet the normal annual needs.

“We do not dogmatise as to whether these houses should be built by private enterprise or by public authorities. We do, however, lay it down that the community, as represented by the State and the Local Authorities, is responsible for seeing that the houses are in fact built and are let at rents within the means of the workers. If the houses are not built otherwise, then they must be built by the public authorities. If the carrying out of such a programme involves a cost to the ratepayer or the taxpayer, or both, this cost must be gladly borne as a Christian privilege. While every economy should be sought, it must not be at the expense of health or comfort. The slum areas cannot be cleared until considerable headway has been made in alternative accommodation owing to the enormous shortage, but our ultimate aim must be not merely to provide sufficient new houses to relieve the overcrowding, but also to secure the closing and demolition of houses not really fit for human habitation. Every effort should be made to secure that the programme is carried out as rapidly as possible by an organised and well-thought-out scheme for a period of years.

“Then our towns in future must be better planned than they have been in the past; in new areas particularly separate districts should be reserved for factories and residences; for adequate open spaces and playgrounds. Gradually we must secure the replanning of our existing towns which are so haphazard and unsatisfactory.

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“We must also deal with the important question of poverty, which is such a vital factor in family life. The main causes of this are the following :

- (a) Low wages.
- (b) Unemployment or casual employment.
- (c) Sickness and ill-health.
- (d) Old age.
- (e) In a limited number of cases, intemperance or other vices.

“Active steps must be taken to deal with all these causes and to give every family security and sufficient income for the family needs. It was obviously outside our scope to deal with these matters in detail, each one of which would require a lengthy Report. There can, however, be no two opinions as to the necessity of dealing with them. The fullest and best family life is clearly impossible where there is a daily doubt as to how the next day's meals are to be provided. Security is one of the principal objects to be achieved. We may differ as to whether the results we want should be achieved by an entire change in our economic system such as is involved by what is commonly called ‘Socialism,’ or whether it is possible under a private and capitalist system to secure the results, but those who believe it can be secured under the existing system are bound to recognise that it has not so far been achieved, and that drastic alterations are needed in our administration and legislation and in the conduct of business if the present system is to be justified.”

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Discussion

MRS. MARY HIGGS (Oldham—Society of Friends) said that half-time employment of men was driving mothers out into industry. Mothers did not go out voluntarily in a great number of cases, but were forced out by the absurd theory of English law that every woman working in the home was unemployed. It was a crying shame that women should have to go out in order to qualify for unemployment insurance, etc. What would have been the effect on Jesus if His mother had had to leave Him to someone else's care while she sought a job? This burning injustice should be remedied.

MR. FRED HUGHES (London Diocesan Conference) referred to "a golden sentence" on p. 64. "To make the world fit for children to live in is to make it fit for everyone else." The figures given elsewhere made it like waking from dreams of heaven to the realities of hell. He urged the Conference to feel the general responsibility for this festering mass of sorrow and sin. There was no excuse for allowing it to be, for the facts had been revealed time and again. The difficulties of twenty-five years back no longer existed, and the Church must see that no financial or party considerations stood in the way of reform.

MR. J. J. CLARKE (Liverpool—Presbyterian Church) quoted some striking figures of overcrowding in and around Liverpool, and urged the necessity of stirring up public opinion. The question should also be considered from the point of view of employing the million and a quarter unem-

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ployed. There were 6000 boys and girls between the ages of fourteen and sixteen who had never worked, and large numbers of men who had never worked since the war ended.

These men and women and children were in the position of accepting manna from heaven, which was creating a disposition to rely on others, and a want of character for which the country would have to pay in the future. The greater burden of unemployment was borne by those between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five—men and women who had never had a chance of entering industry.

REV. D. H. HALL (Dublin) said he knew a house in his parish with eighty-four children in it. He started a Public Utility Society but had no capital. He called on 800 people and most of the good Christians turned him down! But others gave, and he got a loan from the Board of Works. They built houses without corners and “with baths h. and c.,” and with gardens. Every occupier had to invest. The capital would be repaid in twenty years. This bit of work had changed the character of the whole community. It had got men off the drink and into such things as choral societies. First they built ten houses experimentally; then twenty-six; then fifty-three, and the extension was still going on.

MR. MONTAGUE FORDHAM (London) recalled that the Commission had turned down the possibility of borrowing money at low rates of interest for housing purposes. This was a mistake. He had built houses and studied the financial state of many

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countries. What was needed was credit, which in this country could be provided at a very low rate, up to 4 or 5 per cent.

REV. H. MONKS' (Chelmsford—C.E.M.S.) suggestion for a constructive programme was that the Government should see that every house in the country was used for human habitation—that there should be none reserved in our villages as weekend cottages or summer residences, while farm labourers had no chance of getting married. The Government had a plan for building 2,500,000 houses in fifteen years, and it should be supported in its design, if the Reference Committee was satisfied that the scheme was sound. The whole force of the Churches should be employed in this matter, for it could not wait another day.

COUNCILLOR D. D. BROUGH (Glasgow—Member of Leisure Commission) described how Glasgow was gradually clearing out its slums, moving 2000 people at a time from houses unfit for human habitation into districts which were to them a perfect paradise, on the outskirts of the city. On the Glasgow Corporation properties there were no public-houses, but gardens, tennis-courts and children's playgrounds.

MRS. GEORGE CADBURY invited the delegates to visit the village of Bournville and to receive information on the housing schemes adopted there.

Resolution 4 was then carried.

MRS. GEORGE MORGAN, summing up, said the home life was part of God's whole plan for life in the world. We must realise our tremendous responsibility as mothers and fathers to guide the

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thoughts of the young, so that they should consider themselves as units in a great whole. Therefore the whole training must be not only to develop boys and girls who were growing up to maturity, but to train them for the service of the community.

Our duty meant sacrifice from the beginning to the end. Parentage was the link with the Divine because its first and last thought must be of sacrifice and service. We must begin in the nursery, training the youngest to give freely. The training went on through the school life to the adolescent stage. We must sweep away the old idea of age sapping the energies of youth, though this did not mean to do away with the privilege of children to tend their parents.

On the great question of the equality of all men and women she was thankful the Conference had taken a definite line. Surely the evil cases quoted by Mr. Black had been the results of the thought in the past that we were not all equal in God's sight. If we wanted to establish the Christian ideal, we must teach ourselves and all within our charge that the lowliest child is equally one in the family of God. That ideal taught us that the old divisions of class must pass away. The part of the Report on p. 154 (paragraphs 14 and 15) deserved great attention. If we set out to have State schools for all classes we should certainly give a better education all round. We should lose the old thoughts about expense, because the education of our own children would be at stake. Equal advantages would be brought into every home, and we should never again

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hear the phrase, "It's good enough for other children, but not for mine."

Turning to the question of drink, Mrs. Morgan said the thought of Christ taking a little child and placing it in the midst, and making one of His hardest statements against the offender, should show us His loving compassion for any little child. Our duty was to remove from the child's path these stumbling-blocks, making a sweeter and better life more possible in the future because Christianity was going out into the alleys and byways and streets of our cities.

On housing, Mrs. Morgan said we were not going to provide homes by passing pious resolutions, but by organising Christian opinion in our own districts. We must all go back home to work in this direction, because home life was a sacred thing, and it was time for us to be up and doing.

In training children we must give them a true ideal as to what marriage meant, and that it was not to be lightly entered upon, but something that brought with it tremendous responsibilities. It was so vital for the nation that unless we had the light of God shining in our homes the nation would be going downhill. By catching the idealism of youth we could prevent the deplorable sort of marriage and the terrible home lives sometimes lived. Nothing could be achieved by our own strength, but by the power of the Living God Himself. He claimed from us the utmost endeavour so that His sacred Name might indeed be sacred in the future. He took the name of Father and made it to show forth the love of God. He took the motherhood of the race, and

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He became the child of a woman. When we had that sacred touch upon the home life of the people ; when we thought of the degradation of some homes, we realised indeed that it was time for us to make a real endeavour to build the home life of the future on a different foundation from that of the past.

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TUESDAY AFTERNOON

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

Prof. W. F. LOFTHOUSE, D.D. (Chairman of the Commission), introduced the Report and Resolutions.

“This subject has been very difficult; not because it is one on which silence is so often felt to be necessary, but because it is so constantly and harshly dragged into the light, and because the most widely divergent views are held with passionate earnestness. Those varieties have been reflected in the composition of our Commission. In our long discussion we have at times thought that two or even several Reports would be necessary. But most of us were convinced that this would render much of our labour worthless. Any attention we might claim for what we said would not depend on our unanimity. Every possible view on the subject has already been expressed by someone or other. Very little has been said by a body containing such diverse elements as our Commission.

“Mapping out the subject as a whole, we found that beside the ‘burning questions’ which are in

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everyone's mind, there was much common ground on which, if we could not express ourselves at once in identical language, we understood one another. And we were at least conscious, as I believe this whole Conference is conscious, of the will to agree. Not to compromise, or to find formulæ in whose language we could all acquiesce while attaching different meanings to the phrases we might use: agreement, we felt, must rest on mutual understanding and respect. If we could not all come to the same conclusion, we could at least, we found, understand the reasons which led to the opposite conclusion. As a matter of fact the points on which we did reach agreement were the points which were the more practical and immediately important for those whom we chiefly had in view. Our very differences, discussed in this spirit, led us to hope that they might prove for the Christian consciousness steps to some future reconciliation.

“The first thing we wish to impress upon the Conference is our common and profound conviction that sex is to be regarded as a gift of God. Like all such gifts, its true use must be learnt; and it must always be guarded from abuse. But it is meant for the enrichment of life. And if it demands a certain reticence in speech and even in thought, this is not because it is slightly unpleasant or improper, but because it is too holy a thing for vulgar jesting or casual talk. This applies not simply to the close relations of married life, but to all intercourse between the sexes. Co-operation is, or ought to be, something more than co-operation between persons; it is co-operation between men

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and women. In the serious business of life, as well as in its relaxation, members of each sex have some definite contribution to give to the common stock. This law must be understood and practised. We are not unaware of the dangers. But there are also very serious dangers if the law is neglected. Any piece of work to be done in common must be first in the interest and attention of each; then the gifts which each has to give, and the best manner in which they can be given. In this way the dangers or distraction of pre-occupation with sex will be forestalled. In this principle we have a guide for the difficult problem of the education of girls, and at least a partial solution of the difficult problem of those for whom marriage is for one reason or another impossible. The work of men, as well as of women, will be far better done when women have learnt to think of the world as the scene, not of their sphere, but of their contribution.

“Next, the true meaning and essentials of the Christian ideal of *love*. The term covers a multitude of meanings, inside as well as outside the Christian allegiance, from a deep and spiritual passion to a general sense of liking and mutual adaptation. We dread any appearance of exclusiveness. But we wish to emphasise that all love worthy of the name, whether it involves passion or not, must involve two elements—mutual self-surrender and the desire for creation. By creation we do not simply mean parenthood, although no love between man and woman can reach its final completion without parenthood. We also mean the bringing into being of a new power and beauty and effective-

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ness—of a deeper personality, in fact. Love means at least this, that each becomes an end to the other ; that each finds, in the other's supreme happiness, his own. And this is the very spirit of Christianity.

“ This too supplies the real reason and ground of chastity. In these days chastity cannot be urged simply on the grounds of authority, either of the Church or of traditional morality. The question, ‘ Why must I be what is called chaste ? ’ is often asked with disconcerting insistence. An answer must be provided that will carry conviction. We believe it lies in the distinction between using others as means and as ends. We do not forget the various utilitarian reasons, nor the very strong argument drawn from biology. But no one is finally frightened away from wrongdoing. Morality must be based upon principles which will in the end commend themselves to all. Our principle is that to use other persons as means is always wrong ; and when it is a case of means to merely sexual pleasure, it is an outrage. When education is what it ought to be it will be seen to be such.

“ We have dealt with prostitution in some detail. Deep-rooted as is the system, for the Christian social conscience acquiescence in its continued existence is impossible. How can it be met ? Not by the easy method of condemnation and casting stones nor by State prohibition or regulation. Prohibition has always proved impossible ; regulation has always proved ineffective. So much is now generally admitted outside as well as inside Christian circles. But we cannot stop there. It is the demand rather than the supply which must be

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attacked. Everything which will drain off the supply will be of assistance; better housing, higher wages for women, education, interests and hobbies, care of the mentally defective, temperance work. But the real and the soluble problem is the demand from the side of the man. We must concentrate on the moral appeal for self-control and chivalry. There is our greatest hope. We must and shall overcome evil, not by law, or prudential motives, or social rearrangements, but by good.

“Marriage emerged as the first subject on which arose decided difference of opinion. But this difference had not to do with the nature of marriage itself. We started our consideration from the teaching of the New Testament. Here we found marriage as a lifelong union of two persons, consecrated by love. We found no sympathy in the New Testament, rightly understood, as we found none in ourselves, for the idea of marriage as a second-best, or as the means of avoiding something worse. We did not neglect those expressions of St. Paul which seemed to point in the other direction, but we found his real mind in his use of marriage as the type of the relation between Christ and the Church. This made us the more anxious that the Church should rescue marriage from being the hasty, careless, one-sided or selfish thing that it so often is. It is far more important that the Church should pay attention to preventing marriage from being a failure than to deciding what to do with it when it has become a failure. Very much can be done and ought to be done by the Church to make and keep marriages happy. Young people

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can be and need to be educated to understand the profound and self-surrendering union that true marriage implies. Such education is to-day relatively very infrequent. Young people and older persons need also to understand the meaning of duty in relation to marriage, and the poise and stability which the conception of duty gives to marriage when the inevitable strain arises. The function of the Church is far more than to perform a ceremony of consecration for persons whom the State allows to marry. It must prepare men and women for marriage, and it must solemnise the unions, and only those unions which God can bless.

“What then of divorce? In the case of the marriages which were the embodiment of love, self-surrender and a profound sense of mutual duty most of us were convinced that there could be no question of divorce. Many of us hold that such marriages alone were contemplated in the New Testament texts. But what of divorce for others—the great majority of married persons—who are not so married? Here we could not agree. The Report gives the different types of view represented; (1) that marriage once knowingly entered into is a sacrament, and cannot by any procedure be undone: (2) that marriages which in spirit are really no marriages at all are better ended, for the sake of the parties themselves, the children, and society: (3) that the Church should pronounce only those marriages indissoluble which the Church itself had blessed. As regards the action of the State, most of us were agreed that such action should aim at

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securing the stability and happiness of the largest possible number of unions. Some at least think we should have said more than this, on one side or the other. But we have simply to report that on this point the Christian Church is not yet in agreement as to the will of God for society. To recognise this, however, is not to despair. The only thing that could make us despair is the attitude that on certain points there is no room for corporate thought and prayer. The belief of the Commission is that only by patient searching and reverent sympathy with what others have learnt from the Holy Spirit shall we be led into all the truth.

“Regarding limitation of families, we all agreed that marriage ought normally to involve parenthood; that a marriage where there are no children loses something very precious; and that any refusal to have children based on self-indulgence or shirking of duty is indefensible. Some—not all—would go further, and say that marriage exists *primarily* for the production and rearing of children. What then if the birth of children is feared, on physical or economic grounds? For such fears there are often, in the present state of society, but too abundant reasons. Is all physical intimacy then to come to an end? Some would say, Yes; for marriage that takes means to prevent parenthood is sinful; others, No; for marriage that does not involve such intimacy entails great perils; others again, Yes, at least in most cases; for both the value and the effectiveness of contraceptives are uncertain; their use is justifiable only when they are the sole means of avoiding serious harm, and

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then they had better be regarded as doctors would regard a drug. The knowledge of contraceptives is already widespread, whatever we may do to prevent or justify it. We cannot conquer vicious desires by ignorance, but only by motives of self-control and self-respect.

“Here also, then, we differ. So do large numbers of earnest people around us. But there is something more important than our divergence, and that is our belief that, with an honest desire to know and to do the will of God, those who ask will receive and those who seek will find.

“In closing, I beg you to preserve a due sense of proportion, both in the discussion and in your own thinking on the subject. It is natural to devote most attention to the matters that raise the thorniest questions and inspire the warmest convictions. But we have more before us than divorce and the limitation of birth. We shall never solve these questions for society, or even for the Christian members of society, until the Church’s teaching on the whole subject of the relation between the sexes is adequate and clear. We live in a world where some of the greatest blessings are brought by the right relation between men and women, and some of the most tragic miseries occur where that relation is wrong. Too often in the past Christians like other people have been content to judge, to forbid, to hold up their hands in pious horror, leaving the wretched object of their condemnation to perish. They have refused to recognise the force of temptation, the desperate agony of the struggle. Or they have turned from the whole subject in a kind of

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bewildered disgust, which has been almost as harmful, and no less disloyal to the spirit of their Master. In this department of life, Pharisaism is the worst of all; far worse, if we may believe the Gospels, than what it condemns. The happiness of each is the responsibility of all of us. The subject cannot be isolated even in a relative seclusion. Every social question has its bearing on the sex life of society. The great decisions of sex are demanded from every one of us. Only a minority may have the technical or expert knowledge that fits us to deal with special problems. But each of us, as an individual, and in co-operation, can and must lessen temptations, directly or indirectly, raise ideals, guide the minds of others, younger and elder, to healthy interests. We must bring to bear on the complicated evils of modern social life the truest preservative of chastity and of the capacity for pure and unstained love, namely, an unselfish, wise and enthusiastic power of friendship. The Recommendations we propose as Resolutions are naturally only those on which we agree, but they will suggest to every Christian of good-will some avenue of service. Every local Christian community or Church should take careful measures for the due instruction and guidance and protection of all for whom it can consider itself before God as responsible. This is no small task for the Church. It would do what no laws can ever do. It would fulfil the spirit of Christianity, wherein each one sees himself set to serve another's need in the name of a disciple, and for the sake of the Redeemer who chose to be the friend of publicans and sinners."

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Discussion

Rev. G. A. STUDDERT-KENNEDY (London—Industrial Christian Fellowship) pleaded for an exact definition of terms and words used in the Resolutions and discussions—terms such as “chastity,” “self-control,” “sexual pleasure,” “the merely material side of marriage,” “the spiritual side,” and so forth. Marriage had no meaning except the sacramental: “merely material” would be purely animal, “purely spiritual” would be inhuman and impossible. It was untrue that the only sacramental union was one that aimed at getting children. What was meant by “sublimation”? Only the excess energy needed sublimation: the energy left after normal sexual intercourse in marriage. If it was intended to imply that between two married people who adored one another there should be celibacy over a large number of years, he begged the Churches in God’s name to be careful how they asked for it. Let people be very sure what they meant by the law of God in this connection. Who could believe that to bring children into the world as they were brought to-day was in accordance with the law of God? or that the population of China was in accordance with the law of God. Let them remember that what was possible without detriment for one person was not so for another. The matter of contraceptives was a damnable scandal and was playing the very devil with the nation. Could we control birth control? The way these things were

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advertised at present was the surest way of getting them into the wrong hands.

Resolutions 1 and 6 were carried.

Rev. G. W. WALL (Heywood, Lancs—Swedenborgian Church) spoke to Numbers 3 and 4, with regard to the instruction which should be given by the local religious community. He urged Copec to carry its proceedings a step farther and formulate the necessary code, in order to secure uniformity.

With regard to marriage itself, in Number 3, again we needed a doctrine of married love. It must be emphasised that marriage was first of all spiritual, and only secondarily of the body. We must do away from the marriage service with any words that seemed to imply that death separated two souls really united.

Rev. J. CLARK GIBSON (London—Wesleyan Methodist Church) said the silence of the Church and public had been criminal with regard to this question of what was involved in the consummation of love in the union of marriage. Many unions had nothing Christian about them, and yet the Church was blamed when the marriages became shipwrecked. He felt strongly the need for teaching, definite and extensive, on the physiological side, but more important was the need for the spiritual interpretation of love and marriage from the Christian standpoint.

Rev. G. H. MARTEN (Surbiton Study Groups) used as his text the cry, "If only someone had told me! If only I had been warned!" and spoke strongly on the question of instructing children in sex matters. He believed the only way of imparting

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the necessary knowledge was a sacred *early* confidence between mother and child. But help was needed. He pleaded that Copec, which was out for the best, not the second best, should formulate this adequately.

The DEAN OF MANCHESTER associated himself heartily with Mr. Studdert-Kennedy. The last speaker referred to the sacred intimacy of child and mother—"what about the father?" Surely both were equally concerned. The Report gives guidance but not a clear lead, and the Conference was thrown back on itself, to think things out. He pleaded for the ideal of beauty and goodness hand in hand. Marriage should be considered far more as an art than it had been. People outside the Christian conception of life were stressing far too strongly the technical side of marriage, leaving out the soul and the spirit. This was the merest carpentry of marriage. On the Church's side the "genius ingredient" alone had been stressed, leaving out the technique. He pleaded for a conception of marriage which should unite the genius which inspires and the technique also. "No Divorce" ought not to be the sum total of the teaching of Christianity.

Mrs. KNIGHT BRUCE (Newton Abbot—Missionary Council of National Assembly) also spoke in support of Number 3, from the view-point of the importance of the message sent to the countries abroad which were not now Christian but were learning Christianity. Our Lord's teaching distinguished Christian marriage from any other, sharply and entirely. It was based on the need of man and woman for each

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other, and equality in sex relationship. It was irrevocable, not unbreakable; it was often broken by lust and folly. Our Lord laid down no law but gave a vision of God's truth.

Discussing the possible attitudes towards divorce, Mrs. Knight Bruce declared that the enormous majority of married women wanted permanence of marriage. Were we going to legislate for the unhappy 2·5 per cent. of marriages—to allow marriage to be broken in order to avoid any suffering at all? We were not here to deal with hard cases. People were not very tender to the capitalist; not very tender to the landlord; but very tender to men and women who want a change.

Resolutions 2 and 3 were carried.

Mrs. E. F. WISE (London—Member of "Home" Commission) moved a new Resolution: "In view of the difficulty of the moral issues involved in the practice of conception control in marriage, and especially the use for this purpose of contraceptives, and the insufficiency of evidence which would justify any decision, the Conference, whilst refraining from expressing any condemnation of those who with a due sense of moral responsibility approve such practice, urges the Churches here represented either severally or unitedly to investigate thoroughly, and to consider, with the intention of offering definite guidance to perplexed consciences, this and other relevant questions regarding marriage and motherhood. It would meanwhile lay emphasis on the privileges and obligations of Christian parenthood."

At Mrs. Wise's request, because the matter was

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so difficult, the CHAIRMAN led the Conference in a brief prayer.

Mrs. Wise said her own position was expressed on p. 158 of the Report. She moved the Resolution because Copec ought to face facts. In every class this question of birth-limitation in marriage was agitating countless minds. At present the information was being given in a thoroughly undesirable form, and it was our fault very often, because we had been too pure-minded to deal with these questions. We could not stand aside, nor could we condemn without adequate investigation. The matter was at present in the experimental stage, and must be considered in the light of our Lord's teaching on life in general. The whole teaching of the Incarnation was that the physical and the spiritual in this life were absolutely mutual.

In support of the motion, Mrs. Wise adduced a Resolution of the Women's Co-operative Guild Congress at Cardiff last summer, in favour of clinics for instruction in methods of birth control. That Congress represented a great mass of the more responsible working women, and in face of their demand we, as Christians, must see that such as desired instruction were given it decently. Those who knew the conditions of working-class motherhood, and knew what it must mean to have another child coming when one had not enough food for those already there, knew that we had no right to say that God's law was a child every year. No one, of course, would advocate the use of contraceptives for selfish ends, only for the glory of parenthood.

Dr. CHARLES GRAY, M.D., O.B.E. (London—

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Member of Commission), seconded it on medical grounds. In another ten years the majority of married women in the country would be using these methods. For the majority of people, abstinence was not only unhealthy but undesirable for other reasons. Condemnation of contraception would not affect the spread of irregular relations, because the fear of motherhood was no longer a deterrent. If one's natural instincts were suppressed, the energy must be used in less satisfactory directions.

Miss M. E. ROACH (Winchester Diocesan Conference) opposed the Resolution on behalf of young people trying to keep themselves pure in the face of temptation. If we allowed these things within the married state, how could we object to them outside it?

Dr. W. J. TYSON, M.D., F.R.C.S. (Folkestone—National Assembly C. of E.), said Christianity was the only religion which forbade fornication, whereas sexual intercourse in the married state was not forbidden. The idea that procreation was the end of all marriage failed because there were conditions in which it could not happen. Think of poor folk in bad housing conditions. It was nonsense to say that fornication among single persons was involved.

Rev. W. J. W. TUNNICLIFFE (Bristol—I.C.F.) spoke against the motion, and said they were talking as if Christian thought were in a state of flux concerning this matter. It was not true. One great branch of the Church was utterly opposed to the use of contraceptives within the married state. One part of the Church of England also holds that if God called us to a state of celibacy we should

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accept that call, let physiological and psychological considerations be what they may.

Mr. MAURICE GREGORY (London—Society of Friends) endorsed Mr. Tunncliffe's opposition.

Mrs. GEORGE MORGAN made it quite clear that her remarks in the morning had been in reference to the spacing of children. In every case within her experience it was the poor mother who had the large family, because Nature was struggling to reproduce itself in spite of the high death-rate. To deal with this matter of tremendous families, therefore, we must uplift the whole social life of the people.

Canon T. A. LACEY (Worcester) confessed that the Commission had been divided on this question, and had therefore been unable to put forward a recommendation. He did not believe the statement that abstinence was always either impossible or harmful. It might be true of neurasthenics, but Copec was not to legislate for neurasthenics as though they were normal constituents of society. The end of this practice, as history had proved, was race suicide. That end was rapidly approaching in France.

The CHAIRMAN said that in the minds of the proposers there was no intention that the result of an inquiry should be confirmed by the Church, but that the Church should have an answer to give, whatever it might be.

The Resolution was carried amended as shown on p. 281, as were Resolutions 4, 5, and 7.

Mrs. WILLIAM PIERCEY (London — Y.W.C.A.) summed up. She said some outstanding difficulties

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had been courageously and faithfully faced. She represented a large body of youngish married women who were responsible for making marriage the beautiful thing it was intended to be by Christ, and to her was entrusted the task of educating children to take the right view of sex, God's view of the part it was to contribute to the beauty of life as a whole. It was rather disappointing to some that the Church could not give a lead on one or two matters which troubled us so much. Mrs. Piercey only asked sympathy for the cry of the working woman for guidance as to whether it was her duty to bring into the world children whom she could not possibly bring up to the glory of God. We must find out whether our Lord had anything definite to say in answer to the demand of many women.

Sex, as had been shown to-day, could be one of the most beautiful subjects in God's design for man. Let us go forward and face its perplexities in the light of this Report, especially the first part. Let us do all possible to encourage right friendships between boy and girl, man and woman, to promote fellowship and understanding. The Christian marriage code was a difficult subject, and there was much to be said for learning something about its technique. Many marriages had been spoilt by ignoring small things.

The teachers and pastors of the young should see that boys and girls did understand the different response or reaction made by sex on the physical side. Many unhappy marriages could be prevented if more knowledge of that sort was given to the

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young. They should be trained to respond to the call of parenthood, a call which never failed with girls. Much more might be done with boys than had been done on that side.

On the question of contraception, Mrs. Piercey said we wanted to produce unselfish parents who would dedicate their lives to bringing up God's citizens on earth. The great hope for the present was the great demand shown this afternoon to know the truth which should guide us and make us free. We had accentuated our differences, but there was a great deal in the Report put in a new way, with a backing of Christian opinion behind it. She asked all delegates to go back to their homes and Churches determined that they would make some contribution to this great mystery of sex which God had given us for His own purpose.

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TUESDAY EVENING

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

Rev. T. W. PYM (Chairman of the Commission) sent a paper introducing the Report, which was read by Mr. Kennedy Cox.

“It is to be supposed that the members of the Education Commission are educated, and that the members of the Home Commission have homes. The members of this Commission have little, if any, leisure, and we have been frequently conscious of our own individual failure to live up to the conception of recreation and leisure which we put before you. We are, however, most of us concerned with the manipulation of other people’s leisure time and with efforts to increase it and improve its quality.

“We have been constantly faced with the great difficulty of securing the required improvements while so many great social and industrial problems remain unsolved, but we urge upon the Conference most strongly the necessity of keeping the problem of the right use of Leisure to the forefront. It will

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not be solved automatically by the mere improvement of other conditions of life. This present century has already seen great reductions in the working hours of large sections of the community. These reductions have come about as the result of considered policies; the provision of recreation to absorb the leisure time so gained has been chiefly fortuitous and haphazard; it has followed no plan at all except the plans of commercial enterprise, quick to make large profits out of the increased wages or the increased leisure time of the patrons of popular amusements. It is foolish for Christians to plead for a better general standard of life for the people in wages, housing, working conditions if we are not at the same time striving to secure better opportunities for the happiest use of the material advantages they may one day gain. Nor are better opportunities alone required, but also education in their use; education for leisure is just as necessary as education for wealth or position.

“Though the Conference may be more particularly interested in certain disputed matters such as Sunday observance and the drink problem, we do beg that the large general problem be not ignored. Let us show those who read about our deliberations that we are at least as enthusiastic on those matters on which we are all agreed as on those upon which perhaps in detail we differ. The members of your Commission have been able to sign a unanimous Report only because they have dealt with their business in that spirit.

“We are agreed that certain matters should be selected for comment in this opening speech.

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“(1) *The right use of Sunday.* We put, of course, the duty and benefit of the worship of God in the first place, *i. e.* worship as congregational communion with God. With those who do not recognise this duty and need we plead for fair consideration, that this observance of Sunday should not be made too difficult, and that rest and peace should not be destroyed.

“The same consideration is due from strict observers towards those who do not agree with them; that they should not put obstacles in the way of innocent enjoyment of recreation on the part of those who on other days of the week seldom have any such enjoyment. Some of us—we are not here unanimous—feel that for many Christians one of the best ways of doing good and not evil on the Sabbath day would be that after their own group-worship they should take a lead in promoting healthy and happy recreation for those who need it, provided that such action does not compete with Sunday Schools, Bible Classes and other valuable means of Christian instruction; thus by positive service we might help to prevent the mere rowdy or vicious desecration of the day as it is commonly treated. The view of worship in a larger sense defined on p. 13 might also be discussed. But we emphasise the primary duty of safeguarding a truly Christian observance of Sunday by ceaselessly insisting on the provision of time and opportunity for the amusement and recreation of all people during the week.

“(2) We draw your attention to the whole question of the gradual formation of a Standard

theatre, as suggested on p. 53. A discussion to-day of any practical steps that could be taken would be valuable.

“(3) We urge that leisure is not merely a town problem. We deplore the dullness of much village life, driving the younger generation into the overcrowded towns. In much that we recommend, therefore, we have rural as well as town areas in mind (see pp. 26, 30 ff.).

“(4) We believe that part, at any rate, of the solution of the gambling craze lies not only in the provision of less harmful opportunities of amusement to thousands who are at present denied them, but also in the sincerer teaching and practice by Christians of their religion as a life of adventure and romance. To many people organised religion seems the very negation of romance and denial to the spirit of adventure. Two points here seem to us worth discussing :—

“(a) Whether State restriction of the professional organisation of gambling would not lessen the evils of gambling as we see them, and

“(b) How it would be possible to make our Guilds, Bible Classes, Prayer-meetings meet more adequately the human and legitimate spirit of adventure, particularly of the young, and to present more successfully the service of the Kingdom of God as an adventurous undertaking.

“(5) We consider it of vital importance that the discussion of the drink problem should be removed from two battlegrounds, one old and one new. The

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old battleground has on one side the old-fashioned temperance reformer, frequently incurring the charge of exaggeration; and on the other side the casual debater who refuses to see any evil or danger in alcohol because he himself knows, as he would say, how to carry his liquor like a gentleman.

“The newer form of this useless battle arises from the suspicion that temperance reform is merely the camouflage for prohibition.

“We urge upon the Conference to follow the example of the Temperance Council of the Christian Churches, to lift the whole question out of the welter of these misunderstandings and to give a lead to all citizens of good-will to co-operate in solving a problem which has waited far too long for settlement.

“The place of alcohol in social fellowship (p. 91) might well be discussed, and if the Conference agrees with the recommendations on the drink problem (p. 112), a consideration might be given to the best way of making known and securing support for the enactment of some such measure as the Liquor (Popular Control) Bill, better known as the Bishop of Oxford's Bill.

“In conclusion we ask the Conference to note two features in the Report and to copy those features in to-day's discussion.

“One has already been mentioned—it is the ability, through the power of the Spirit, to find a common mind. Your Commission has included people of opposite extremes on some questions. Few of us care for all the paragraphs which we have signed; yet we sincerely present an agreed result.

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"The second feature is this. No matter in the Report is dealt with in any but a positive and constructive fashion. For instance, drink and gambling figure prominently in our Report as in this opening speech. We are unable to disregard their relation to the problem of leisure, and were asked in dealing with them to go beyond our terms of reference and consider their connection with national life as a whole. But your Leisure Commission is primarily more concerned with the provision of healthy amusements, games, institutes, holiday guilds, than with combating any particular social abuse. C.O.P.E.C. must show the world outside that it is not merely 'anti' waste or vice in leisure, but that it is, in this as in other spheres, an attempt, which under God shall prove successful, to overcome evil with good."

Mr. KENNEDY COX then moved Resolutions 1 and 2, with the addition to the latter of the words, after "the Lord's day," "which we distinguish from the Jewish Sabbath."

Discussion

Mr. WILLIAM STRANG (London—Adult School Union) pleaded for some guidance on the choice of books for the members of the working classes who were born "bookworms." The speaker praised the village institutes inaugurated by the Miners' Welfare Fund, and urged an extension of the system. Books were a sure preventive of the abuse of leisure, the waste of money on horses.

Miss DASHWOOD (Girls' Diocesan Association)

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described the acting of Mystery plays by the Association in a good many parts of the country. This was a way very near our Lord's method of presenting truth, and it transcended all difficulties of finding a common language, which were not sufficiently appreciated.

LORD TAVISTOCK (Havant—Y.M.C.A.) introduced the question of the right treatment of animals, which he thought was important from the point of view of leisure, and of man's relations with man. Cruelty and indifference to animals was a potent cause of cruelty to humans, and indifference to human sufferings. Some of the Resolutions on p. 42 were a little confused. The Commission omitted various forms of hunting, yet condemned coursing and the hunting of carted deer, though the latter was the least inhuman form of hunting with hounds. Personally he advocated that whenever animals had to be destroyed it should be by the quickest and most humane method. Inquiry should be made into the difficult question of the use of animals in medical research.

MISS M. SHEPHARD (Manchester — Diocesan Board of Women's Work) referred to p. 109 (1*a* and 2*a*), and suggested that when houses in populous districts were demolished the site should be turned into a public garden or playing-space. She also urged the setting up of a department of women police; and asked for support for any efforts to introduce community music, drama and folk-dancing.

It was very important to get the right kind of dance-halls for adolescents, which could be the social centres of the future. She wanted the

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Reference Committee to bring forward a resolution deprecating the association of dance-halls with licensed houses. We must be very careful that the improved public-house was not fully licensed, otherwise Lady Astor's Bill would go by the board.

Rev. A. B. BATEMAN (Hon. Secretary, Birmingham Committee) argued that at present there was little chance for any man to express his individuality in his work, in the conditions of factory life, the dullest of all existences. The problem could not be solved by games, or music, or dancing—it was in the joy of creation, the sphere of art and handicrafts, that the worker found real opportunity of self-expression. The Church as a whole might co-operate in the formation of guilds, etc. He had tried the experiment in his own Church with encouraging results. If people had training in what art really is, houses might be places of beauty instead of—what they are!

Miss KNIGHT-BRUCE (London—Industrial Christian Fellowship) condemned the acquisition of culture for one's own pleasure alone, and said culture was as much a trust for the benefit of others as was wealth. Large sections of the Report depended upon the help of the cultured class. There was a singular lack of the sense of responsibility among educated girls in this respect. Parents also made difficulties and needed converting to a better point of view.

Miss FLORENCE L. BECKITT (London—Church Army), the leader of a club with about 1000 members, urged the importance of more clubs for boys and girls in every town and village, particularly in

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the present unhappy state of many homes. They must be on the right lines and teach Christian citizenship. More good clubs meant fewer Rescue Homes.

LORD ABERDEEN (Aberdeen—Church of Scotland) emphasised the importance of folk dancing (p. 41). He described how it was re-discovered in America and re-popularised in Europe. The wrong form of dancing was also worth attention.

MISS MARGARET CROPPER (Kendal—Archbishop's Advisory Board for Spiritual and Moral Work) referred to the difficulty of getting the right plays and the help given by the Village Drama Society in organising rural dramatic movements.

REV. MARTYN ROBERTS (Hull—Christian Social Council) spoke on the cinema, with its tremendous influence on modern society. Copec, he said, must speak with no uncertain voice. He detailed the various forms of censor's certificate granted to various films, and condemned utterly the fact that little children, if accompanied by adults, could witness pictures unfit for them to see. He had asked one manager concerning a film, "Would you like your own boy to see it?" The answer was, "Certainly not!" Copec should educate public opinion towards a Christian standard.

REV. HERBERT HALLIWELL, F.R.G.S. (London—British Christian Endeavour Union), spoke of the late Mr. W. T. Stead's pioneer work in the direction of co-operative holiday homes for workers, and described how the Christian Endeavour Union had developed the movement. About 7000 young people were accommodated last year. The Homes

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introduced the spirit of fellowship, and were to be commended to the Churches.

Rev. L. BABB (Wembley—Wesleyan Methodist Church) feared that the Resolution about Sunday would be used as capital by the so-called "Brighter Sunday" advocates. Many Christians agreed that Sunday had its place in healthy recreation, but recognised the evils of the conditions in many suburbs to-day, when the whole Sunday was often given over to mere recreation which did nothing to recreate. There never was a time when the Christian Church needed more determinedly to guard the privileges and sanctity of Sunday, without returning to rigid Sabbatarianism. Let Copec emphasise the call to worship.

The first two Resolutions were carried *nem. con.*

Rev. E. BENSON PERKINS (London—Wesleyan Methodist Church) said there was no doubt about the widespread character of gambling practices, which was a challenge to the Christian conscience. Gambling was fundamentally non-moral and opposed to the law of God, and it was for Christians to guide public opinion on it. The Church had not adequately demonstrated the heroic character of service for the Kingdom of God. She must not seem to justify such evasions as the sweepstake, and she must use her voice effectively against gambling speculations, as well as against ordinary betting.

We cannot reform everything at once, but should have before us the possibility of taking from professional gamblers the use of the press, and of teaching young people in schools and churches the economic and moral evils of gambling. The witness

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of the Church was most important. She must lead. It was not a question of distinction between rich and poor, but of moral right and wrong. Let the Church use no gambling of any sort in her own organisations, even for the purpose of raising funds.

REV. HENRY CARTER (London—Wesleyan Methodist Church) referred to Resolution 4. He advocated "local option," as defined in the Bishop of Oxford's Bill, which all parties were prepared to support. He described the three choices presented in the Bill—(a) no change, (b) an option in favour of no local licence, (c) reorganisation, or the transfer of the liquor trade to public ownership. The third course would immediately lead to a great reduction in the number of licences, and would eliminate the corrupting influence of the trade in local politics. The method of local option was based on the Christian principle, and the road of experiment was to commit the whole thing frankly and freely to the people.

REV. H. B. REISS (London—Chelmsford Diocesan Conference) thought the cure for gambling was not legislative so much as the acquisition of open spaces by every possible means, by harnessing the generosity of the rich, by influencing local authorities, and by applying the existing provisions of the Town Planning Act.

REV. W. SEDDON COOPER (Bradford—Wesleyan Methodist Church) thought that personal contact might make all the difference. He advocated the extension of the method of obtaining voluntary pledges from boys to have nothing to do with

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gambling in any form. He illustrated his point by reference to the voluntary temperance movement.

Mr. G. E. TROUP (Edinburgh—U.F. Church of Scotland) said the solution of the gambling problem lay in healthy conditions of home employment and leisure. One factor was suitable literature on the subject, and he appealed for a strong lead in this matter, for collective action.

Mr. J. J. MALLON (London) said the root of the evil was the principle of private ownership in the drink trade, but he doubted whether the proposals supported by Mr. Carter would be ample to effect a reform. Time was the essence in this matter. Something must be done in the next ten years, or generations of young people would be corrupted and ruined. The one way of getting at the heart of the matter was to drive out private ownership, after which everything would be possible. Carlisle was an achievement, a first-rate piece of reform.

Rev. J. VERNON BARTLET, D.D., proposed that the option of diminution should be mentioned in the Resolutions on p. 112.

This proposition was seconded, and carried.

Rev. A. GRAHAM BARTON (London—Baptist Union) moved and Lt.-Col. W. A. GUTHRIE (New College, Edinburgh) seconded the elimination of Number 3, and claimed to speak in the names of the great national temperance organisations of the country.

The motion was heavily defeated on a show of hands, and Resolutions 3 and 4 were carried by a very large majority.

Rev. W. B. SELBIE, D.D., wound up the dis-

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cussion, and tried to introduce some principles of unity. The question was whether we should be able to lead our Churches in the direction pointed out by Copec. A great deal of work would be needed in the future if Copec's decisions were to become matters of practical politics in the Churches.

The Lord Christ came into the world that men might have life and have it abundantly. His mission was a positive mission; His commandments were not "don'ts" but "do's." Infinite mischief had been done to His cause by a purely negative presentation of His precepts. We must put before men and women the ideal of life that was splendid, free and subject to the spirit of His law. Thereby this great question of leisure could be solved.

Next, Christianity meant fellowship—we were our brother's keeper, and had to give others the opportunities we desired for ourselves. He could have criticised a great deal in the Report on that basis. The question of teetotalism was only just mentioned, yet St. Paul said, "If meat maketh my brother to stumble, I will eat no meat." The Christian Church would have to take a very different attitude to a great many questions of the day. There would be required a spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of others such as had not yet entered our purview. Many things besides culture needed to be consecrated to the needs of the community. How much did the sons of the rich do to give the power to play games to the poor boys of their neighbourhood?

Lastly, if we were going to carry out the Commission's recommendations we must realise that

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every member of the Christian Church must be deeply concerned for the general welfare of the community in which he lived. To talk about leisure for the suffering masses was absurd until we had realised that they were living in conditions which Christians were bound to view as absolutely wrong. The Church must plunge into this fray and deal with politics, both national and local; to show herself ready to bear a share of the heavy curse of public misunderstanding before she could deal with such matters as had been discussed here. The old idea of not bringing politics into religion must go, and we must bring religion into politics. Were we going back to educate the Churches to the position to which this Report would bring them?

CRIME

WEDNESDAY MORNING

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

MR. D. LLEUFER THOMAS, J.P. (Member of the Commission), introduced the Report.

“ Much bad theology is due to the borrowing of non-Christian principles from Roman law. Many of the non-Christian elements of English law are due to lawyers re-borrowing some of these principles from the theologians. Our criminal system is the growth of ages ; to bring it into complete harmony with the principles of Christianity cannot be done in “ one great act ” or by one sudden heroic change. Nevertheless the many legal and administrative reforms of the last hundred years, and the humaner spirit in the present day, represent real contributions to the process.

“ In Education, Leisure, the Home, and so on, the Conference is dealing with the normal relations of life, but Crime within the State, like war in international affairs, is regarded as something abnormal. Yet it does not differ in essential elements

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from all forms of moral wrongdoing. Ethically, the problem of all our social relations is one and the same, and therefore to apply Christian principles to crime is not more difficult than to apply it in our own lives. Crime must be considered not as an isolated phenomenon, but as intimately related to the home, to education and to the social and industrial order and to religion.

“(1) As in other social problems, the teaching of Jesus on this subject is implied rather than expressed. He gave no cut-and-dried code. To some extent this teaching may be inferred from incidents in His life when He came into direct relation with those we would call criminals. He stressed the need of right personal relations with those who had done wrong rather than the vindication of the law. The power to overcome wrong was not the strong arm of the law, but the influence of personal goodness in helping the wrongdoer to a better life.

“Love—Redemption—Forgiveness—not punishment arbitrarily imposed from without—are the distinctive principles of His teaching. To reclaim the wrongdoer was more important than to vindicate the law, for, to adapt other words of His, ‘the law was made for man, not man for the law.’ As His Mission was Redemption, our criminal code, if it is to be Christian, must be built on redemptive lines. Forgiveness and love must have their places in our treatment of offenders as in every other department of life in the Christian society.

“(2) The crimes with which this Conference is concerned are those breaches of the law which offend against our moral feelings—violations of the

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law of God as well as of man. We need a new nomenclature which would remove 'quasi-criminal offences' from the category of crime proper, so as to concentrate attention on those crimes which are ethical as well as legal. But the measure of the moral guilt of the wrongdoer can never be justly ascertained unless the underlying causes that led him to commit his offence are discovered. This must be the key to his reclamation.

"Amongst men, the most frequent offences, placed in the order of their frequency, are—larceny, drunkenness, assault, false pretences and burglary; among women—drunkenness, prostitution and larceny; amongst boys and youths up to twenty-one—larceny, and next perhaps wilful damage.

"To ascertain what offences are the most prevalent is a considerable help to discovering their causes. The theory of the Italian school of criminologists as to the existence of a criminal type has now been generally discarded. We no longer believe that crime is due to the innate depravity of the individual—the causes have to be sought outside the individual himself—in conditions that are intimately associated with sociological and industrial problems. *Poverty* is one great cause of crime. According to Dr. Devon the number of criminals is in direct proportion to the density of population. *Unemployment* is accountable for a large proportion of offences, especially among juveniles. *Bad housing conditions* contribute to many offences against the person—assaults on women and girls, incest, cruelty. *Drink* too is responsible for many assaults and other offences against the person, though drunkenness is

often a symptom of underlying causes rather than itself a cause of crime.

“A *lack of education*—social and therefore moral and religious in character—and the *false standards of life* which spring from faulty education are also at the root of much of the anti-social conduct of the age.

“Moreover, the ordinary non-criminal citizen is often an unconscious contributory to the commission of many offences, especially by his adoption of an unethical scale of values, by acts of self-indulgence, by thoughtlessly putting temptations in the way of dependents, and so on.

“(3) Of the five methods of dealing with crime—the retributive, deterrent, preventive, reformatory and causative—those chiefly adopted till quite recently were the retributive and deterrent. But punishment for punishment’s sake is both morally bad and economically unsound: 66 per cent. of all serious crimes are committed by persons who had previously been convicted and therefore had not benefited from their conviction or previous sentence.

“The State has no right to impose suffering on anyone because it is suffering. Even though such person has done a wrong, unless such suffering is reformatory in its effect it has no moral justification. Nor has the State the right to inflict punishment on one person in order to deter others, and so make one person the ‘whipping boy for another.’ Imprisonment often hits the innocent as well as the guilty. A man’s wife and children suffer and the home may be broken up. The effect of imprisonment is also projected into the life of the prisoner after his discharge.

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“The main line of treatment should be *reformati-*
tive, but in order that this should be effective, the
underlying causes of crime should be ascertained.

“Imprisonment is rarely reformative even when
best administered, but in prison administration
there has recently been a shifting of emphasis from
retribution to reformation. Newer methods have,
however, been adopted of recent years, chief of
which is the placing of offenders on probation.
There is an increasing volume of evidence as to its
success, and this my own experience in the South
Wales coalfield amply confirms. There is no way at
present in which the Gospel principles can be more
effectively applied to criminal administration than
by the use in all possible cases of the Probation Act,
not merely for juveniles but also for adults.

“Unless it is necessary to segregate a person of
dangerous criminal tendencies, he should not be sent
to prison without giving him a chance to turn over
a new leaf—on probation. If he lapses, the sentence
has only been deferred. I am not afraid to take
risks, and have had remarkable successes, even at the
second or third attempt.

“Another valuable educative and disciplinary
system is to compel an offender to make reparation
to the party wronged. Already this can be done by
binding over the offender subject to conditions as
to such reparation.

“For those who are sentenced to detention,
whether in reformatories or prisons, there is now a
serious effort made to train them to be useful
citizens on their release.

“But in all treatment there should be a regard

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for the personality of the offender. If that is trampled on there is no hope of reforming him. There is need of a more thorough study of the causes of crime, and though we have much to learn on the subject, it is quite obvious that we should concentrate our efforts to remove those social evils which are direct incentives to crime: bad housing, poverty, drink, unemployment—and our own bad example.”

Discussion

Mrs. BARROW CADBURY, J.P. (Birmingham—Society of Friends), traced the historical side of the gradual separation of child offenders from adult criminals. Twenty or thirty years ago little children were mingled with hardened offenders. She rejoiced that it was now impossible for children under sixteen to be sent to prison except in very exceptional cases, and she pleaded for similar grace for youths between sixteen and eighteen. She advocated an extension of the probation system, but when something else was needed there must be change of environment. At present there was nothing but prison or Borstal. Why not use some of our useless reformatory schools as graded hostels, letting the youths go out to work and live a more normal life, with certain restrictions?

Mr. J. J. CLARKE, F.S.S. (Liverpool—Presbyterian Church of England), touched on the value of changes already made. In Liverpool he was dealing with all classes of criminals, men and women, short and long sentence convicts, for whom he organised classes, and debates on vital questions. According to

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Government officials these men have changed their temperament. They no longer do their work sullenly and they are responsive to the events of the day.

Miss GERTRUDE EATON (London—Howard League for Penal Reform) asserted that the greatest cause of crime is war. She asked the Church to consider the treatment of crime in the broadest light: to take lessons from all countries, each of which could teach England something and learn something from her. She gave instances from Austria and Switzerland.

Bishop JAMES CANNON, Junior (America) described Prohibition as "the greatest good of the greatest number," the will of the vast majority. The people of the United States had decided to prohibit the traffic which destroyed the self-control of its citizens, because it was the enemy of economic, educational, social, religious and home life—a public nuisance. The new social consciousness of America would not allow the individual to perform any action or enjoy any privilege that was a menace to the comfort, safety or life of the community.

Quoting the results of four years of prohibition, Bishop Cannon gave some striking figures of reduced death-rate (220,000 per year), saving upon organised charitable expenditure (£17,500,000), reduced industrial accidents (250,000), increased purchases of motor-cars (4,000,000 last year), increased house-building (2000 per month), increased consumption of meat, growing deposits in the savings-banks, greater Church membership, etc. The great improvement in business everywhere was very largely

the result of Prohibition and the salvage of America's former waste of many millions of dollars annually.

Prohibition was going to stay, because the American workers did not mean to sink back to the old condition of misery and want. In relation to crime there had been a decrease of 2,000,000 cases of drunkenness, or over 500,000 annually. Commitments to penal institutions had decreased from 22 to 64 per cent. Over 20,000 less had been sent to prison.

Miss RUTH KENYON, J.P. (St. Leonards-on-Sea—Member of Politics Commission), stressed the Prison Commissioners' repeated recommendations that boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one should not be sent to the ordinary prisons. That was the next urgent step in prison reform, and she hoped Copec would inspire public opinion to demand it at once. Three illustrative incidents were detailed from her experience as magistrate.

Professor W. H. MOBERLEY (Birmingham) said the deepest principles of our Faith bore directly upon our treatment of criminals. He traced the course of our gradually changing attitude towards criminals, from the time of the purely natural level, when they were treated as public nuisances, and as such put aside—a principle which had nothing moral, and even something immoral about it. No penal system, however, could be worked for long without a popular feeling that crime was wrong, and that the criminal deserved what he got. This was the second level. The principle was ethical but sub-Christian. One was in a different atmosphere when one came to the Christian way of dealing with crime,

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and the example of our Lord. It might seem unjust that more trouble should be expended over the one that had gone astray than over the ninety and nine that had not, but we had moral charge of the wrongdoer, and when we had helped him to put right his wrongdoing as far as he could, we had introduced the principle of redemption, which was much higher than the purely ethical or natural principles.

But we must face the consequences. Once we had recognised the rightness of the Christian attitude, it did not follow that society, as we knew it, ought to adopt that attitude to-morrow. This was an intellectual problem which we had not yet plumbed. How far ought a society, Christianised to the degree at present reached, to try to apply the definite Christian view not merely to individual actions but to the State itself? That was the crux of the problem, and it must be faced. On the whole, it was not the worst offences against God that put men into prison. The one really iniquitous thing was so to act against another as to make him a *worse* man. Infliction of loss or pain was a different matter.

Mr. C. R. SIMPSON (London—Society of Friends) moved an extra Resolution to strengthen the arm of the Home Secretary in his determination to do away with capital punishment. The Christian norm in regard to the taking of an offender's life should be to abolish and expunge it from the Statute Book to-day. He briefly explained how Queensland had got on without capital punishment for seven years. The death penalty had been found absolutely unnecessary, and serious crime had decreased by

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30 per cent. He thought that what applied to Queensland must apply to a country as similar as our own.

Prof. A. BARRATT BROWN (Oxford—Society of Friends) seconded the Resolution. He was in Pentonville Prison when Roger Casement was executed and would never forget the effect on the inmates. He had had a vision of the two thieves crucified with Christ, and he felt that every time we sent a thief or a murderer to the scaffold we crucified Jesus again.

Rev. F. KLAVENESS (Norway) said Norway had done without capital punishment for thirty years, and did not want it back any more than America wanted to repeal Prohibition.

Lord POLWARTH (Humbie—Member of the Commission) referred to the forthcoming National Prison Congress in London, and urged members to attend and voice their support of Christian principles. He declared that the essential of imprisonment—deprivation of liberty—had not been altered. The ethical and moral standard of the average prisoner was quite different from our own—he did not think it a moral crime to steal, any more than we thought it a crime if we rode a cycle after dark without a light. This was a challenge to the Church. Speaking as a Prison Commissioner, Lord Polwarth declared that the best prison reform was to keep people out of prison. We must get hold of the young, realising our responsibility for the fault of the people who grow up with no knowledge of the moral difference between right and wrong. Conditions had greatly improved this century, and there

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was hope that much more might be done. We must remember that what was reformatory for one might be the opposite for another. True reform could only come when the spirit of God touched the heart and made a person sorry.

The Recommendations in the Report were carried *nem. con.*, and a special Resolution, "That this Conference is of the opinion that the business of a Christian community is to redeem the offender, and therefore urges the Reference Committee to send a memorial to the Home Secretary asking for the abolition of the death penalty," was carried by a large majority.

Mr. W. McG. EAGAR (London—Member of Home Commission) closed the session. He said the Report would be an extraordinarily valuable handbook if we got the subject in the right perspective.

Mr. Eagar described Mott Osborne's deliberate entry into an American goal as a prisoner and the results that accrued therefrom, and added that the greatest English penal reformer, John Howard, was a great Christian. This was no accident, nor was it an accident that before he was a penal reformer he was a housing reformer. We were led inevitably to the consideration of the three great problems which contributed constantly to the stream of life passing in and out of prisons, and passing out only to pass in again. That was the outstanding fact of our present prison system, that it did not reform. The results of this morning's discussion would be best shown in the amount of support given to the officials who were trying to carry out a more en-

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lightened policy. We were not fighting hostile officials but public apathy. We must support magistrates and probation officers who were trying to express the sense of a Christian community in their personal dealing with offenders. It might mean scrapping the present prison system, but not until there was sufficient opinion behind the idea.

Mr. Eagar quoted St. James's beautiful picture of our Lord going to preach to the spirits in prison. It meant that in our Churches and Church Services we could not get away from the troubles of men no more wicked, but often only weaker, than ourselves. They needed evidence, through the sympathy of men, of the love of God, which alone could redeem them as members of society.

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WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON

Rev. Principal A. E. GARVIE D.D., presiding.

Mr. E. F. WISE, C.B. (Chairman of the Commission), introduced the Report.

“It is difficult to say on what principles international affairs used to be carried on. Each nation pushed its own interests to the utmost; we in this country, Germany, Russia, France and others. The result was inevitable. War became unavoidable and all share in the responsibility.

“We must find some other principle. The war showed that we are truly members one of another, and the events of the last five years have confirmed this. The mishandling of international affairs brought unemployment in this country, hunger and famine in Germany, warlike unrest in the Balkans, and militarism based on fear in France. Has Christianity nothing to say? It is clear that national boundaries are ceasing to have any meaning in such matters as science, commerce, art, finance, etc. Aeronautics and wireless are making them not only obsolete but ridiculous. Events have outrun our moral control. Has Christianity nothing to offer? Is religion only a national affair?

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“The answer is given in the Report. The essence of Christianity is universality. Geographical boundaries cannot limit our duties one to another. In His parable, Christ chose a foreigner to illustrate beneficence. The keynote of our Recommendations are the compelling duties implied by human brotherhood and the duty of service. The resolutions try to dissociate the Churches from that narrow nationalism which is the root of our difficulties. The defence of national and narrow interests is not the business of the Churches : there are plenty of people ready to do that. In the last war God was on neither side, but on the side of humanity. Certainly, what followed was not from heaven. Christians must be prepared to believe that there is no dividing line, if commerce and industry exist for the service of humanity. Profiteering and exploitation are no more respectable because practised on the foreigner. Trying to make the foreigner pay taxes and dues that ought to fall on ourselves is bad Christianity—and also bad business.

“Towards less developed countries our attitude should be that of trusteeship. The mandatory system, embodied in the League of Nations, is by no means yet perfect, but represents a great step forward in putting the relations between Europe and the less developed countries on a proper basis. But it must apply all round and not merely to those countries that happened to come under our control on account of the war. For the vast tract of Africa which we rule we must be prepared to render account to world opinion. Nations are no better judges in their own cases than individuals would be.

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“Then finally comes the special function of the Churches. It is definitely their duty to foster and develop the spirit of mutual toleration and brotherhood so as to provide the foundation for the changes that are upon us. Christianity must either lead or become a back number. Too long has religion been synonymous with reaction. It is not without significance that in continental countries so-called Christian parties are in most cases nationalist and reactionary.

“Let us be under no delusions. These Resolutions are not intended to be mere expressions of opinion. If we are to take the lead in the new world we have got to make sacrifices ourselves and not to leave all the sacrifices to other countries. We must be prepared to see these problems as other nations see them. Disarmament in this country means the reduction of the French army. In Paris it is the removal of the menace of the British fleet from the French Channel and Mediterranean ports. In Italy it is the neutralisation of the Straits of Gibraltar, whose retention by this country would enable us to starve Italy in three months. If we wish other countries to believe in peace and goodwill we must ourselves first show faith in them.

From the rich and powerful nations and not from the poor weak ones the sacrifices must come, and we are one of the most rich and one of the most powerful. In our recent dealings we have been neither just to Germany nor generous to France. If we were a little less contentious of what we regard as our own material interest, the world would be more ready to follow our moral lead when we give it.

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“If some people say this is too idealistic, I would reply, What else have you to offer to the world? For five years Europe has been ravaged by the careful calculations of statesmen, the cynical dispositions of diplomats, financiers, and the business men, materialistic computations and the pathetic acquiescence of the Churches in a situation where courage and imagination were needed as much as in the war. The alternative to Christianity has failed hopelessly. It is time that Christianity had a chance. Finally, don't blame the statesmen. Each country gets the statesmen it deserves. No Government can go far in advance of public opinion. If you wish to convert the statesmen, concentrate your attention on their constituents. It is for the Churches with all their influence on public opinion to apply their minds to this task.”

Mr. G. P. GOOCH, D.Litt. (Member of the Commission), introduced the first three Resolutions.

“The first is not controversial; the second and third are. They raise fundamental issues and demand a new philosophy. For this new teaching we must look to Christianity. In the first days Christianity gave no practical directions, but it did give the goal, the tendency, the ideal: Universalism, Brotherhood, Solidarity, Interdependence, these four.

“Then we come to the Middle Ages. I must say a good word for them as regards ideals if not for practice. They came nearer to the realisation of a Christian world than that in which we are living.

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They believed in organic unity, in a world order. Every thoughtful citizen in the Middle Ages believed in a *Respublica Christiana*, a Christian Commonwealth, every member of which was conscious of allegiance to God the invisible King and to His earthly representatives, the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. The notion that any single community owed no obligation to any authority outside or above itself never crossed the mind of mediæval thinkers. Perhaps this was not very thoroughly carried out, but it was sincerely believed.

“That system perished 400 years ago. The Empire lost prestige, Columbus discovered America; Luther broke up the universality of Christendom; Machiavelli introduced his system, given in *The Prince*. The uncrowned king of the Middle Ages was Augustine; the uncrowned king of the modern world is Machiavelli. The doctrine was of a non-moral, individualistic State. Political atomism was its creed, its morals were those of the jungle. This unmoral and unchristian doctrine, formulated by thinkers in different countries from Bodin and Hobbes to Hegel and Treitschke, was accepted alike by rulers and people and has dominated both the theory and practice of the modern world for the last four centuries.

“Yet the older tradition of solidarity and mutual obligation was not left without witnesses. People you might regard as either belated survivals or as pioneers proclaimed it; men like Grotius, Sully, Penn, the Abbé St. Pierre and Kant. It inspired the Tsar Alexander I with his scheme of a peace-preserving alliance, of rulers actuated by Christian

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principles. But these were 'voices crying in the wilderness.'

"The nineteenth century—I regret to have to give a bad mark to the nineteenth century—gave no outstanding figure who continued to proclaim internationalism. Men practised nationalism and salved it with arbitration. The cultured cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century had disappeared, and oppressed nations who won or regained their freedom thought they had reached their goal. It needed the World War of 1914–1918 to convince us that more was required than arbitration and that the root of the trouble is in the theory and practice of unfettered national sovereignty. The system under which Europe has lived for four centuries has collapsed before our eyes and Europe is filled with its ruins.

"The supreme political task of the twentieth century is to foster the sentiment of the unity of civilisation and the interdependence of States. We are not asking for a revolution; only that a second storey may be added to the building in which we live. The first storey is nationalism, and this will remain. But we have outgrown the old building and need something more spacious. This is the second story of internationalism. Between nationalism and internationalism there is nothing more antagonistic than between the two arms of a pair of scissors, the two legs with which we walk or the two hands playing different but complementary harmonies on the same piano.

"The story of human progress is a record of our attempts to organise our relations into ever larger

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units, and the World War has imposed on us the necessity of an organisation wider than ever before attempted. A loose federation such as the League of Nations is enough for the present. Everything of enduring value in the philosophy and institutions of the National State must be preserved, for Internationalism builds on Nationalism. The League of Nations, as its title implies, accepts nationality and transcends it, just as the Christian Church gathers up the different Churches into a larger spiritual unity."

Discussion

The Rev. W. M. PRYKE (South Shields) discussed the creation of an international mind, which he described as a problem primarily of education and of the schools. We needed a much better method of teaching history and geography, but more important still was the intelligent teaching of the Bible, especially the Old Testament. We had fallen far short in that respect. For most of us God was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, but the tribal God of earlier Hebrew thought. If our picture of God is tribal our view of the world must be sectional. If our thought of God is vindictive, our outlook on the world is vindictive. It was the duty of Copec to go back and to insist that the Bible should be taught intelligently, so that the children should realise fully the nature of God. The Old Testament must lead through Jonah and Isaiah to Jesus.

Professor Dr. JULIUS RICHTER (Berlin—World Alliance) said he could not speak on international relations without reference to Foreign Missions. An

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organic reformation of mankind must be founded in the Christian Gospel. "Church" cannot mean English Church but the Universal Church. The greatest task before the Christian Church was to secure international co-operation of the fullest type. The factors which had entered the problem during the last ten or fifteen years must be eliminated or restricted.

Professor Dr. F. Zilka (Czecho-Slovakia—World Alliance) argued that no individual country could be transformed or reformed in isolation from the rest. International intercourse was at present founded on selfish motives, and the whole system needed to be Christianised. The Kingdom of God would not come unless we made ourselves instruments of His will in all departments of our private and public life.

Rev. H. HOGARTH (London—Wesleyan Methodist Church) spoke to Resolution Number 1, and denied that imperialism was necessarily selfish. In a series of rhetorical questions, which provoked mixed replies, Mr. Hogarth cited the patriotic poems of Rupert Brooke, the monuments in Westminster Abbey, "Land of Hope and Glory," and other evidences of the imperialistic mind, and asked whether they were all wrong. He would not agree that all wars of conquest had been opposed to the spirit of Christianity. What of Lord Kitchener's campaign in the Sudan? The maintenance of national prestige was not necessarily unchristian, he argued.

Copec wanted its Resolutions to be taken seriously, but this would not be the case unless the first Resolution was altered. He suggested the first

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part of it should read, "That the Christian faith is fundamentally opposed to all merely national self-aggrandisement."

This was seconded.

Mr. WISE criticised the amendment as adding nothing to, but taking a great deal from, the Resolution. There was nothing in the Resolution antagonistic to the unselfish work of British administrators. It only attacked the spirit of imperialism as expressed in the desire of conquest and the pursuit of selfish interests by one nation at the expense of another. He would not accept the alteration.

The amendment was lost, and the first three Resolutions were carried.

Mr. J. E. TUKE (London—Society of Friends) referred to Mr. Baldwin's remark at the dissolution of the late House of Commons, when he said that it might soon be necessary to consider the limitation of exports. Exports ought to be the overflow of the home market, used for the benefit of mankind generally. The struggle for foreign markets was one of the most devastating factors of modern times. We must find a clue to our problem in "the just price," which had as its economic basis the use of money as the medium of exchange: it was not in mediæval times bought and sold for purposes of power, as to-day. We must dig down into economics and finance to discover causes.

Rev. JOHN RIDDELL (Doncaster—Study Groups) said we could not get at the truth about international relations through our partisan newspapers. We must go out and see for ourselves the conditions abroad, as had been made possible for a great many

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people, for the first time, by the war. We should find that human nature throughout the world was inclined to be friendly and brotherly. Another way of finding out the truth was to follow the guidance of honest historians.

Rev. S. C. CARPENTER (Bolton—Christian Social Crusade) appealed for honest labour to be considered as international, as it was, during the war, held to be national service. The dignity of labour was mostly talked about by those who don't labour.

Miss A. HARRISON (China—World's Y.W.C.A.) spoke to the latter part of Number 5. China, she said, was watching the Conference with great interest, and surely Copec would help the National Christian Council of China to work on this question. China was a country where the result of industry was not a service to mankind, but a menace. She moved a resolution, "That this Conference expresses its concern at the grave situation which has resulted from the introduction of Western industrial methods in the East, and instructs any Committee appointed to carry on the work of this Conference to co-operate with other bodies which are dealing with this subject."

Miss Harrison added that it was no use adhering to the international labour standard if one could go to another country and not observe that standard. What was the use of prescribing the way things should be produced in one country if we took into that country things produced under worse conditions? She urged the revival of Article 23 of the covenant of the League of Nations. The subject was of international importance.

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The CHAIRMAN undertook that the Reference Committee should give close attention to the matter.

Miss R. E. McCULLOCH (New York—U.S.A. Conference on the Christian Way of Life) spoke in the spirit of the American Copec, and pleaded for the resolution to be passed. She said it would be the beginning of a new era of co-operation. In America all kinds of people were studying the first documents of their commissions and discovering that all life is one.

Miss TAK HING SHIN (China) said she had had the privilege of a year's study of industrial conditions in England. It would mean a great deal to feel that Copec was at the back of the workers in China when they faced this difficult problem. As a Chinese woman she pleaded for her country-women that this Resolution should be passed.

The CHAIRMAN declared the Resolution carried.

Mr. S. C. YANG (China) suggested the formation of continuation committees in England and other countries, to follow up Copec. Their functions should be to study problems and push forward the Christian spirit. There should be a Committee also on international relations, to study the British relationship towards all countries. Further, Copec would give great help by declaring that British representatives in the diplomatic and commercial spheres should be chosen for character and sympathy rather than for social position and business capacity.

Mr. W. H. F. ALEXANDER (Banbury—Society of Friends) deplored the terrible cleavage between white and black people in South Africa and India.

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He added a condemnation of the libels printed in newspapers about other nations.

Mr. W. C. GALBRAITH (Glasgow—U.F. Church of Scotland) quoted Nigeria as a place where Britain had been able to show the right way of contact between black and white. One way we could help at home was by being more friendly towards the foreign students at our universities.

Resolutions 4, 5, 6, and 7, with the addition proposed by Miss Harrison, were carried.

Admiral S. R. DRURY-LOWE, C.M.G. (London) said he believed with all his heart in the League of Nations, and had retired from the service to back it. It had done a great deal in international affairs, yet it might have done a great deal more if all Governments had applied Christian principles to their work. He rejoiced to find evidence that the present Government in England was determined to do so. Admiral Lowe pleaded for a recognition of common interests. Patriotism should not hamper, but should actually increase this desire to work for the common good of the world. He begged the Churches to support the League whole-heartedly, and to back up the Government in bringing the spirit of Christ to international relations.

Rev. Canon J. McBAIN (Glasgow) added a plea for recognition of personal responsibility by business men who had to send representatives to foreign lands, and urged a wider hospitality to visitors from overseas. He feared lest the League of Nations and the World Alliance should be regarded as the only channels of the international spirit.

Rev. A. RAMSAY, D.D. (International Committee

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on Life and Work) addressed the Conference on behalf of the World Alliance of Churches, which, he said, aimed at promoting peace on earth. He described the latest development of group conferences between neighbouring States, to remove the causes of friction and war. The World Alliance faced actual difficulties as they arose, and did not content itself with generalities.

The three outstanding factors which the Christian Church must consider were :

(1) Reparations and inter-allied debts, the cause of much distress and hate in Europe. It was the duty of the Churches to prepare the minds of the people to listen to the experts' reports and to see that a final settlement be reached once and for all, otherwise there would be a world-wide catastrophe.

(2) Religious and racial minorities in many European lands. We must get the League of Nations to see that the safe-guarding treaties were honestly carried out.

(3) The spirit of mistrust which was the basis of nationalism in Europe. Only the Christian Church could cure it, and she must do her duty in this grave hour of the world's history.

The remaining resolutions were carried.

Lord PARMOOR, summing up the discussion, said he had gone to Geneva an old-time advocate of the League of Nations, and had just returned from the Council more than ever convinced of the stability of that Christian movement. In the large number

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of subjects either solved or in the way of friendly settlement there was a common feeling of international friendliness, and since his return he had found that that friendliness found an echo among the peoples represented. He never sought to apologise for the position his country held, but if any had doubts about it let them talk with the representatives of other countries at Geneva, and discover the position we held there. "Without encouraging either pride or dominance or vanity, I believe you will be convinced that in the future history of international relations our country must raise the flag and take a pioneer attitude, and that we have the best chance of realising the principles of which we have heard this afternoon." He believed that if they employed and mobilised the constructive forces ready to their hands the twentieth century could show something very different from the nineteenth. The difficulties in international relations had not arisen from any real doubt that Christian principles were applicable between nations so much as from unrestrained nationalism, selfish and dominating, claiming unfettered sovereignty, and even in a bad cause upholding one's own country. He believed that a tempered nationalism, based on true loyalty and patriotism and unselfish in its aims, was absolutely essential to the life of the world to-day. That could be based only on an unselfish spirit. The absence of such a spirit was largely due to ignorance of international conditions, and he commended the work of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches. The step taken towards world disarmament at Washington was largely due to

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the representations of 20,000 Christian ministers in the United States.

“But have all the Christian communities advanced as they ought at the head of peace movements? I regretted that even during the war our Christian churches did not take an attitude in favour of peace. The one idea we ought to have had is that of Christian truth and Christian principle. I cannot reconcile war with these. I believe that the two are fundamentally inconsistent. No casuistry on this point appeals to me. We must cast our lot as Christians against all war. We must regard it as a curse and an abomination. In the cause of peace we must rally to the feet of Christ and have no other motive than absolute opposition to war from beginning to end.”

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WEDNESDAY EVENING

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

Rev. A. E. GARVIE, D.D. (Chairman of the Commission), introduced the Report.

“Our measure of agreement has proved very much greater than had been expected. The question, “Should a Christian fight under any circumstances?” despite divergence of conviction on this one aspect of it, has not divided the Commission on the general matter. Both pacifist and non-pacifist members found themselves at one in their condemnation of war as opposed to the distinctively Christian ethic. Their only disagreement was whether that ethic could be immediately applied in the world’s present condition without any exception at all, or not. The non-pacifist members were led to circumscribe the conditions under which there might be a justification for war so narrowly that very few wars indeed could be defended. They were also led to recognise the strength of the pacifist position, and to demand that liberty of conscience must in this matter be insisted on, and that the Church was bound to

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oppose itself to any infringement of that liberty. All were agreed that this difference must not be allowed to divide and so weaken the Christian forces in their common conflict against war and for peace, for such conditions of international amity as would make this question one only of theoretical interest and never of practical urgency.

“Of the two tasks for the Church—the prevention of war and the promotion of peace—the second was recognised as being that to which the enthusiasm and energy of Christian men should be primarily directed. All such agencies as the League of Nations, which aim at the prevention of war, demand and deserve the support of Christian men, yet what is most congruous with the Christian spirit is in all ways possible to establish the conditions which will secure peace. This means a searching scrutiny not only of the immediate occasions of war, but of all those appetites, ambitions, rivalries, suspicions, and antagonisms in the national policy which are, even remotely, provocative of war. Every proposal—military, fiscal, or territorial—which can affect the relations of one nation to another, must be examined to determine whether it makes for harmony or discord. Such an attitude would have a far-reaching reaction on home politics; but it is surely not asking too much to require a Christian man to oppose all conditions which provoke war. To abstain from evil is only the negative demand of Christian morality; its positive requirement is to do all the good possible. As love alone doeth no ill to a neighbour, mutual understanding, respect, and desire for good among the nations

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alone can fulfil 'the royal law,' which is the condition of peace. Here the Christian Churches have their peculiar opportunity and obligation; they can in the highest region of religion secure a spiritual unity which will cleanse and hallow all other relations of morals, culture, commerce, intercourse. The agency for the development of this spiritual unity already exists in the World Alliance for the Promotion of International Friendship through the Christian Churches; the Churches can do nothing more effective than realise this ideal of the Christian Church as super-national, and so able to bring all the nations into a unity, transcending and harmonising all their differences.

"In view of the relation of the Christian Churches to war in the past, and even in large measure still in the present, the Commission is conscious that it has probably taken a position in advance of the common judgment and sentiment still prevalent even among the Churches. But for this no apology is offered. The purpose of this Conference is surely not to approve the present position, but to lead forward, and the function of the Commissions is to explore the paths of progress. The Report is offered then as (1) a call to contrition for the failure of the Church to overcome the evil passions which lead to war, and even for its acquiescence in, and encouragement to the motives and causes of war; (2) a guide in the exploration of the whole field of the Church's opportunity and duty in the present hour to become the mightiest foe of war, and the most helpful friend of peace, and (3) a prophecy of the better future which awaits the world

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if the Christian Church will so enthrone the Prince of Peace in all her aspirations and endeavours as to enable Him at last through His body to take to Himself His great power and reign in truth and justice, grace and love in a race redeemed from the curse of war as from every other curse, and restored to fullness of blessing in reconciliation with God as Father of all."

Mr. W. E. WILSON (Member of the Commission) presented the Pacifist position.

"As Dr. Garvie has pointed out, the agreed part of the Report probably marks a considerable advance upon what has been the common view amongst Christians up to now. I hope most earnestly that this Conference will with one voice agree to what Dr. Garvie has put before it, and that everyone of us will go out determined to work for peace in the ways he has suggested, and especially by spreading the idea that war and Christianity are absolutely opposed.

"That, however, is not all. A part of the Commission regarded such a judgment on war as less strong than was warranted by the facts. We believe it is the duty of Christians not only to work for peace and against all that makes for war, but also definitely to refuse all personal participation in war, and this irrespective of the causes of war. For we do not believe there is such a thing as a just war. The cause of one party in a war may indeed be just and that of the other unjust, but the justice or injustice of the cause is as nothing to the stupendous injustice of the means. War

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both in its very essence—the wholesale slaughter of human beings—and in its invariable accompaniments—fraud, deception, sexual licence and atrocity—contains in itself and bids its wagers commit almost every evil deed that the laws of civilised and Christian States are directed to prevent.

“Such a judgment is, I am well aware, often regarded as the outcome of sentimentalism or fanaticism. I believe it to be a perfectly sound rational conclusion from the Christian premises, essentially akin to other judgments which the Christian conscience and the conscience of civilised mankind have already registered. I will instance one. We all repudiate judicial torture, yet our forefathers regarded it as necessary for the administration of justice. Now the Christian conscience has decided against it. Is it not an essential part of the function of the Christian Church to discover and register such new moral judgments, and thus to raise the whole moral standard?

“Our Report shows that the spirit expressed in war is the antithesis of the Spirit of Christ. Many Christians nowadays defend war, not on Christian grounds, but because they believe that war in a just cause may be the only means of preventing something morally worse. Completely to refute that position would require an exhaustive discussion, quite impossible here. It may, however, be pointed out that war of itself involves some of the very evils it is waged to prevent; always brings many others in its train, and is at best a very uncertain means of preventing any sort of evil. Do you believe that the God and Father of Our Lord

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Jesus Christ has no better means for overcoming evil than doing evil yourself?

“For what does war mean? I am only thinking of war in a thoroughly just cause, where the enemy has been proved to be the aggressor. Going to war with such an enemy involves following him step by step in his crimes against humanity. If he bombs our undefended towns from the air, we must bomb his. If he kills our soldiers with poison gas, we must invent a more terrible poison gas to kill his. And so it goes on, till at the end of the war we are doing things without shame that at the beginning we should have loudly condemned. We have followed our enemy, whose evil deeds we reprobated, down the slippery slope. We have allowed him to corrupt us. His very aggression seemed like the God-denying assertion that ‘might is right,’ yet our action has been nothing else than our acceptance of that damnable doctrine.

“God has a way of life that does not consist in doing evil that good may come. God manifested in the flesh, not in some great Emperor wading through blood, even in a just cause, but one who humbly went about doing good. Jesus Christ’s whole life and teaching shows that it is happier to give than to get, that it is better to suffer than to injure others, and His death proves that to be killed is better than to kill. He did not descend to the lower plane of His enemies, He came to raise them to His higher plane. To refuse absolutely to fight, to endeavour by every means in our power to show that we want to be friends and helpers of our enemies and desire their welfare

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along with our own, is the Christian attitude to war. Anything less than this way I cannot recommend. No pacifist maintains that this would in every individual instance bring success. The world is strewn with failures of defence by war; this way may sometimes fail also. But its failure will never be complete; in the end it is sure to succeed and to raise the whole moral level of mankind, whereas even a 'just' war lowers it. It is wholly improbable that its failure would cost a nation that adopted it as much death and suffering as even a successful war.

"One objection may be noted. You say we are back again to legalism, to 'Thou shalt not.' Is that a true position? Does anyone here regard the commission of murder or adultery as an open question, though he be raised above the law?

"People suppose that the pacifist position expects a miraculous intervention from God. It is rather the other side that believes in the impossible miracle that evil may produce good. The pacifist believes that the *natural* law of God will work its natural result.

"Before the war, in Germany the majority believed they were defending their homes against aggressors. So also in England, in France, in Russia. If all these had stopped aggressing, we should have had no war. I believe that Christians should take all risks—undefended. But no nation that is trying to take advantage of another nation or hopes to dominate others can take this way. It requires a truly Christian spirit. But Copec means applying Christianity to the whole of life."

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Discussion

The CHAIRMAN said there were two or three amendments, one to insert, as a preamble to the first Resolution, the words "That all war is contrary to the teaching of Jesus Christ." Another, by the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, was to the effect "That in time of war more than ever the Church of Christ must witness and labour for the Christian way of life against hatred and cruelty and for helpfulness. It must resolutely seek to assuage passion and encourage that sensitiveness to truth and that Christian temper which can alone effect a real and lasting pacification." The third, to be moved by Canon Compton, was to omit the words "and refuse to support any war" from Resolution 2.

Mr. F. E. POLLARD (Reading) moved the first amendment on behalf of the Society of Friends. He wanted the Conference to assert a great and tremendous principle, by taking the words from page 52 of the Report in the non-pacifist section and embodying them definitely in a resolution. Some people might wish to qualify the principle, by suggesting that war, wrong as it was, could nevertheless be justified in certain circumstances by its aim, but here was no involved question of the degree of seriousness. If war was contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus, how could we justify the use of it, whatever the circumstances? He concluded by stating that if anyone held back from assenting to the amendment through a desire to keep himself free to suit his action to some conceivable emergency in the future, he should re-

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member that war was not an occasional emergency but a permanent institution for whose further existence anyone who hesitated to apply this Christian principle would be in a measure responsible. War was a tremendous educational force, hostile to Christianity at every point—were we going to allow it to continue?

Rev. A. D. BELDEN (Westcliff-on-Sea), seconding, urged the necessity of making as strong and emphatic a stand as possible against war. Even assuming that war might again become necessary, we ought to divorce the Divine name from a necessary evil. War is not Love to the uttermost sacrifice: it is not redemptive. If you say you are forced to take a lower position, at least dissociate from that position the name of Jesus.

Rev. F. E. HUTCHINSON (Oxford Extension Delegacy) said he had heard it observed that the Church had lost the right to pronounce any war just because it had never declared any war unjust. The Church had positive duties during time of war. It had to keep the soul of the nation free from hatred. It must be scrupulously sensitive to truth, remembering that the first casualty in war was truth. There were also works of mercy which it should not leave to the Society of Friends. The Church must maintain conditions under which peace can be made. Like St. Theresa, it must be the advocate of the absent and undefended. It must maintain the Christian temper which can create a lasting peace. He moved the second amendment.

It was seconded formally by Rev. C. H. S.

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MATTHEWS (St. Peter's-in-Thanet—St. Peter's Study Groups).

Rev. CANON W. C. COMPTON (Dover—Christian Social Crusade), in moving his amendment to Resolution 2, said he did not want the Resolution to be interpreted as being an endorsement by Copec of the right of a citizen to disobey the laws of his country whenever his conscience bade him. The words of the Resolution would commit Copec to the position that a sailor on board a ship would be justified, if his country were drawn into a war, in refusing to carry out his duty. He held that a man's individual conscience had not the right to set itself up against his country and his duty to his country. If there were occasions when we were justified in using force to resist evil in our individual life, we were also justified in using force, called war, in the defence of what is right.

Rev. H. R. WILKINSON (Ipswich Diocesan Conference) said of course they were agreed that war was contrary to the teaching of Christ and agreed to urge that everywhere. But when a Government responsible for a people is driven to choose between disaster and a great sacrifice, were we to refuse to share that sacrifice? Were we to say that the sacrifices of those who gave themselves at the beginning of the war were wrong? Do not let it go out that Copec has said this. We should be met with the sneer, "Oh, you are the people who not only teach what Christianity is, but want to govern the country as well."

Rev. MALCOLM SPENCER (Harrow—"Social Function" Commission) spoke of the danger of taking

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the pronounced pacifist position suggested by the first amendment—the danger of assenting to generalities, which could not be sustained under pressure. He regretted that the “Nearly pacifist” position had not been set out side by side with Mr. Wilson’s statement. Recalling the line of thought opened by Professor Moberley that morning, he urged that there was a time-element in the evolution of the moral capacity of individuals and of peoples. At present we had to assent to conditions in the government of nations which were non-moral, not just as a matter of policy but of principle. We must have a counsel of perfection, but must acquire power to carry it out in successive stages. We first learn to attempt it in the easier sphere of individual action. He believed this was the method of Christ—as in the case of slavery. If we permitted the country to have a pacifist strike at some great crisis, the burden of the business would still fall upon the leaders. The community was not at present strong enough to act in the character of Christ, so we could only aspire to act as Communities in the maintenance of the principles of justice.

The Rev. G. A. STUDDERT-KENNEDY (London—I.C.F.) said he was so near to being a pacifist that he was not sure whether he was or not. Perhaps the only thing that kept him from being one was fear. He and many other people were certainly afraid of doing again what they had once done. He had been one who believed during the war that, if we won a complete victory in the field, we could make a new world. He had said so with great emphasis, and he was very sorry and repentant

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now. He ought to have known that he was talking nonsense and he was anxiously seeking protection from doing it again. There was great danger of doing it again unless we protected ourselves. If it was a matter for the individual conscience, that conscience must be strengthened to keep its vision clear once war had begun. We needed protection against the instinct to go and fight and die. The Church should pledge herself, for our Lord never meant the individual conscience to stand alone. He pleaded for a determination not to work in any way to support a war which had not first been submitted to arbitration. He claimed the right to mutiny and to lay down arms if necessary. Unless the Conference took a risk, humanity would fail again at the time of crisis, and would wake up to find itself very ashamed.

Rev. G. H. WOOLLEY, V.C., M.C. (visitor, who spoke by request), said he spoke unwillingly and with a mind perplexed. Soldiers in the fighting line could in a Christian sense love their enemies. Very few did the actual killing; it was the machinery behind. They themselves were like sheep for the slaughter. He could not hold it wrong always to use force on behalf of right. Nor could he hold that the object of life is to go on living, so that the wrong of war was to bring death closer. Circumstances might arise to make him go through with it again. "But I remember standing with tears running and blood over my feet, urging my men to keep on where we were. I could only do it by the firm conviction I felt then and feel now, that God was very near and suffering more than I did. We

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must in peace do all we can to prevent Him suffering again like that. We must prevent it happening again, and lay down principles, and help our Government by laying them down, on which under certain circumstances men will refuse to fight."

Rev. ARTHUR G. PARHAM, M.C. (Oxford Diocesan Conference) asked the Conference not to pass a Resolution which would be widely misinterpreted by thousands of our Lord's servants who were looking to Copec for a lead. He did not suggest for one moment that war could be in accordance with God's will, but the third Resolution rested on the fundamental untruth that war was an individual question. It was the responsibility of the community which waged war. War was part of the penalty we might have to pay for our share in the responsibility for the low Christian standard of mankind. If the same conditions arose again as in 1914, could there be any alternative whatever to exactly the same course of action? Could anyone suggest that the community would not be entitled to exert pressure on its citizens who refused to fulfil the obligations of citizenship?

Rev. LEYTON RICHARDS (Birmingham—Congregational Union) pleaded for mutual understanding of each other's positions by the delegates. Pacifists, he said, recognised that there were millions of conscientious assenters by whom pacifism had been misunderstood in two particulars.

Firstly, it was not placing the *individual* conscience against the community, but when the two claims clashed, a Christian must give his allegiance to the higher *community*. Secondly, pacifism was

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not a mere negative, a mere protest. It rested upon positive applications of the principles of fellowship with all men, of the Fatherhood of God to all sons of men, and the enthronement of Jesus in the hearts of all men. For these principles Pacifists tried to bear, if need be, any temporary disaster and hardship.

Lt.-Gen. Sir H. M. LAWSON, K.C.B. (Cheshunt—St. Alban's Diocesan Conference) asked for peace, not only in the world but in Copec. He appealed for unity in supporting the noble report of the Commission and urged that the amendment should be withdrawn.

Dr. GARVIE said, in reference to the third Resolution, surely no Christian would desire conscientious objectors to be open to the same sort of legal treatment again as in the past. The Commission had not committed itself to the position that citizens were bound not to resist aggression, but had restricted its observations to the case of war without arbitration. The Commission had not run away from the duty of the Christian in time of war, but had dealt very fully with it on the last page. With regard to the amendment, was it merely a general statement, or was it to be taken, if passed, as a decision for pacifism?

After silent prayer, the Chairman put Mr. Pollard's amendment, which was carried.¹ The first

¹ At the next session of the Conference after the passing of this Resolution, the Chairman explained, in answer to questions put to him, that the words adopted, "all war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ," were not to be interpreted in the "pacifist" sense according to the ordinary use of that word. The

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Resolution on the paper was then carried *nem. con.* Canon Compton's amendment was lost, and Mr. Hutchinson's was carried by a large majority. The other Resolutions were all carried decisively.

Rev. A. HERBERT GRAY, D.D. (Glasgow), who summed up, said he was still somewhat perplexed. If war were declared to-morrow, he knew what he should do, but he could understand those friends who would do something quite different, and he would wonder whether he was right. He was not ashamed of his attitude. The Christian principle was clear, yet it was difficult to be quite sure what, at any given time and place, was the exact right thing to do. He could not understand anyone being dogmatic about another's duty in so difficult a matter. There were fundamental differences involved which went down to the very depths of the Christian faith. They were all looking for new light from God to help them do what was right when civilisation seemed to be in imminent danger.

The problem of war was the supreme social problem, and the problem of abolishing it was the biggest of all. Until this matter was settled, it was possible for civilisation to be swept away at any moment. He was quite certain that war was always an unchristian method of dealing with the

Mover of the Resolution to insert those words explained that they were taken from the section of the Report setting forth the non-pacifist view, and that the motion was not intended to commit the Conference to a pacifist interpretation of them. Further, many had voted for them who in fact did not accept the pacifist interpretation.

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contentions of civilisation, but where he differed from many people was in realising also that the exercise of the Christian faith required very great grace, which many people and nations did not possess. When a nation or individual had not the qualities which made possible the employment of the Christian method, then they might have to choose between two courses, both of which were wrong. To him it was still an open question whether brute force, with all its horrors, might not be better than refraining from any action. Yet there was no doubt that spiritual forces were supreme over all other forces—all the world could not kill Christ till He Himself was sure His hour had come.

Much of the popular suspicion of Christian pronouncements on this matter rested on the idea that not to employ crude force meant doing nothing, whereas history had shown the absolute failure of crude force. The world's greatest need was to discover some more powerful course which would succeed where crude force had failed. In what ways could we serve God and resist evil in this actual world? Having seen in Christ's life the possibility of love triumphing over all other kinds of force, our guidance was perfectly clear. We must seek a power adequate to the whole situation, and that power would always be impossible to people involved in any competitive scramble for material goods, or to a nation that had not escaped from that false conception of patriotism which was simply organised selfishness. It would always be impossible so long as there were lots of people who called internationalism sloppy sentiment, and until

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we discovered the truth that all other nations were lovable and to be respected. Only by getting hold of these essential facts could we acquire the power which could establish the Christian civilisation and save the world from the dominance of evil.

While Christians claimed that love was stronger than material force, the ordinary man simply did not believe it. That attitude could not be overcome by speech-making or even by Conferences, however good. The ordinary Englishman had in him a touch of genius which demanded actual proof of all such tremendous statements. He must meet men and women who demonstrate that fact in their lives. There were such people, who had won victories, bringing blessings on all concerned. If we were going to finish this discussion sincerely, it had to become a challenge to ourselves that we should be that kind of people who could prove Love's supremacy over any other force. We could not go very far in that endeavour without finding that the conditions were very exacting. We must be willing to be purged of all suspicion and inherited prejudice, and to learn to respect the personalities of all other people. It only remained that Christ should have enough of such living witnesses for the whole world to be convinced, and for good to be set free in such a manner as history had never witnessed.

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THURSDAY MORNING

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

MISS CONSTANCE H. SMITH (Chairman of the Commission) introduced the Report.

“The Commission is deeply conscious of the magnitude of the task laid upon it. A sense of the vast importance of the subject has been with us from first to last, penetrating all our studies, inquiries and debates. No one can be more aware than we of the shortcomings of our Report. In our survey of the complicated industrial world, limited by the conditions under which we worked, there must necessarily be gaps and omissions and failures in observation. In attempting to show how and where modern industry has taken the wrong road and to set forth the fatal results of banishing God from the world’s business and making the teaching of Christ of none effect by the maxims of trade—in asserting that only the rule of the Christian spirit in national industry can bring the peace and prosperity for which all men sigh—we have doubtless often failed to reach the height of our great argument. But at least we

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have tried to see clearly and to state honestly what we have seen. As seekers after truth in a matter which deeply concerns us all, we bring you the result of our search.

“What has that search brought us? Most of us were already familiar with the leading features of modern industry and the problems which they present. As employers or workers, as economists or social students, as members of different political parties, we saw these problems from different angles. If our varying views meet and are harmonised in this Report, it is mainly because as we worked together wide differences of outlook converged gradually to a single strong conviction—the conviction of *responsibility*. That is the immeasurably serious conclusion to which any frank and unsparing effort to understand the present industrial scene must bring all men and women of candid mind. The unrest, the suspicion, the class-wars which are the menace and reproach of our civilisation and Christianity alike are not growing without a root. They are growths from roots of man’s planting.

“Acquiescence by one-half of the nation in degrading conditions of life and work for the other half over a long stretch of years, a false theory of economics dominating the market-place and buttressed by the eloquence of great statesmen throughout the period of *laissez faire*, the Church silent and apparently indifferent—by these things was the seed sown long ago. The plant reared from that sowing finds abundant nurture in our own time. Has the advent of the Limited Liability Company tended to increased confidence or the

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abiding insecurity of the manual worker induced the spirit of industrial peace? The temper of bitterness is destructive, above all for the man who cultivates it; but if bitterness comes easily to the casual labourer we need not be surprised. It is indeed difficult not to be bitter on behalf of such an one, confronted with the system of the 'reserve.'

"Here comes in the consideration of responsibility, individual and collective. We know now that these conditions are not the result of inevitable laws; they are not God-imposed but man-created. Man who made may also unmake, though truly he will find unmaking the harder process of the two. That is his punishment, but it may, if he so wills, be his salvation.

"From responsibility for the industrial system of his country civilised man may not escape, above all in a State like ours overwhelmingly industrial. The age of the self-contained, self-providing household passed with feudalism; modern man, whether he wills it or not and however simply his life be planned, depends on organised industry for his daily wants. Through organised industry we are all of us served by thousands of unseen hands. No responsibility is so wide as that of the consumer. Yet of all responsibilities it is the least generally recognised and the most imperfectly understood.

"Are we prepared to shoulder this responsibility as citizens and above all as Christians? Or shall it be said of us as Arnold of Rugby said mournfully of the men of his day, that we left the great task of purifying, sweetening and ennobling the industry

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by which in the main our country lives 'to unhallowed hands'? If so, our condemnation will be greater than theirs. For we know more than they did; a hundred years of industrial history has been written for our learning. We have powers not given to them—powers civic and political, which enable us to work both individually and corporately for change in our social system and for higher standards of social life by common action.

"Admittedly, the industrial, the economic problem is the problem of our time. The only way to a solution lies in the transformation of industry by the spirit of service and of brotherhood—without which what was meant to minister to the needs of mankind may and will become the mere instrument of selfishness and greed. To bring this about there must be a change of heart; so say, in these days when the sense of crisis impels to candour, not only the thinker and the theologian but, perhaps more clearly and emphatically, the financier and the statesman. The call is to the Church, to the whole body of the followers of the Lord, to see that the deliverance for which the world is waiting shall be given it. It is to no swift or easy enterprise that we are called, but to one full of peril and anxiety and frequent disappointment, one which will assuredly demand its sacrifice. For that very reason Christian people should be forward to join the high adventure. What might not their faith, their courage, the passionate desire in them to atone for the past which has made the present possible be powerful to achieve if they move together under the banner of the Master? Why should the

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Church hesitate? The leadership is hers; the post of danger has been the privilege of her faithful sons and daughters all down the ages."

Rt. Hon. Sir H. H. SLESSER, K.C. (Member of Commission) sent his paper introducing Resolutions 1, 2 and 3. It was read by Rev. Will Reason.

"The reasons for these conclusions are contained in the Report itself, but they are of such a nature that we ask you to examine them this morning in greater detail. The first Resolution is fundamental to the whole Report. We do not disguise from ourselves that in demanding a substitution of the motive of service for that of gain we make a vast demand upon human nature, but experience in the past and at the present time has shown that such a demand is not incapable of fulfilment. Otherwise I for one would hesitate to ask for its acceptance as a principle.

"In many occupations of varying social value the motive of service is already more or less predominant. This is substantially obvious in the case of the services devoted to national defence, and from my very short experience no less obvious in the Civil Service. A large number of vocational occupations and professions in varying degree also disclose a predominance of service over gain as the prime motive of the work. The case of medicine and the vast amount of time and sacrifice given by eminent practitioners in hospital service, practically unpaid, illustrates this point. Then there is the great amount of public service given on Local Governing Authorities and on Magisterial Benches,

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for which no remuneration is taken. In other cases the remuneration is so small compared with the effort that the occupation may truly be said to be one of service. I refer in particular to scientific research and in great measure to the teaching profession. You will hardly require to be reminded that the Priesthood and the vocation of Ministers of religion generally is another example of the dedication of talent which might otherwise earn considerable money in industry to an unremunerative calling.

“ In past ages, more particularly in the mediæval period, the correlation of service to status was universally recognised. I do not mean to deny that the whole system had in it far too much of rigid status and undeviating social distinction to satisfy our egalitarian spirit, but making allowances for the age one cannot but recognise how the landlord had then laid on him the complementary duty of the defence of the tenant and the craftsman the obligation to produce good wares at a just price. Industry to-day, for the most part, stands outside this charmed circle and, in a descending scale, from the manufacturer who at least produces some tangible service to the mere speculator who deals in other men's needs, an increasing domination of gain exists as the prime motive of the undertaking. Fundamentally, therefore, we are asking in this Resolution that Christians should persuade the community to apply the same standard of service to industry which already exists in greater or less degree in the case of the professions.

“ The second Resolution deems that industry

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should not only be a service, but a service rendered in co-operation. Here again we are thrown back upon the mediæval Guild as one pattern at any rate of the achievement of a social industrial combination. We are particularly anxious, as a Commission, not to actualise this combination of social co-operation into any specific dogmatic form as between the State collectivists, the Guildsmen or any other theorists. We can afford to remain neutral. We understand first that the undertaking should be impregnated with service, and secondly that it should be co-operative, and we deplore not only the dominance of gain as a motive of industry, but also the exclusion of the workers in the industry from any effective responsibility or control of it.

“The third Resolution is indeed supplementary to the second. In our view nothing makes so much for social instability or industrial unrest at the present time as the perpetuated divorce of an educated people from the responsibility of their work. Recognition of the dire results of this continued estrangement was almost universal in the days following the war, but to-day undoubtedly the demand needs restatement. The particular method whereby the functional responsibility of the worker can be restored can safely be left to economists and the political sense of the nation generally. Here we are concerned only to lay down general propositions.

“I cannot leave these three Resolutions without pointing out the extraordinary measure of agreement which has been reached by persons of very varying politics and of various religious denominations. There are, it is true, one or two reasons

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for dissent stated by a member at the end. But I do not think that our Resolutions deny the fundamental right of the individual or family to property, as is stated; indeed, our chapter on Property seems to say exactly the opposite. Nor can I agree that we have pledged ourselves to the right of the State unreservedly to control the distribution of property, though the degree of such interference which is justifiable will probably be a matter of opinion. We have not, it is true, made mention of the dangers arising from 'extremist and revolutionary propaganda,' nor, on the other hand, have we spoken of the danger of capitalist conservatism. We have rather been concerned to lay down what we believe to be the norm of proper progress, and have thereby saved some space which might uselessly have been devoted to the denunciation of persons."

Sir GEORGE PAISH (Member of the Commission) said: "The underlying object of the Commission will, I am sure, commend itself not only to this Conference, but to the public at large. It is the destruction of poverty and the creation of a condition of universal well-being and of social freedom by means of good-will, co-operation and Christian fraternity. Were it possible to induce individuals and nations to accept the Christian standpoint and the Christian ethic, the new world would become immediately practicable. Unless the existing atmosphere of individual, class, and national hatred is soon replaced by an atmosphere of individual, class, and national friendship there will be no hope of preserving the world from a great catastrophe. As

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never before the situation demands a policy of friendship and of co-operation between all classes and between all nations, and unless that policy can be introduced, civilisation must suffer shipwreck. To-day the human race forms one great family, each member of which can injure or promote the well-being of all. This is the new factor in world affairs which is becoming of ever-increasing importance as the years pass. Before the advent of steamships and railways, nations had little in common, but to-day for good or ill they are bound together by the closest of economic ties. The food for Great Britain and the raw material, without which our people could not produce, has to be collected from every continent. If the nations of the world have become an economic unit bound together by the progress of invention and of organisation into economic solidarity which cannot be broken without disaster, so individuals are now members of one great family, each depending upon all and all upon each.

“ Unfortunately the war and all that has happened since have created a degree of national and individual selfishness of great intensity, almost without parallel. Nations and individuals are seeking to promote their own well-being at the expense of the general community instead of endeavouring to make their contribution to the common good. If the present policy of unbridled selfishness is maintained the advantages which each is trying to secure for himself will never materialise. On the contrary, even the existing level of well-being will be lost and the world will sink into still greater distress and poverty.

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It is under these deplorable conditions that I welcome the holding of this Conference. The situation to-day, whether of the individual or of the nation or of the world, is one of great danger, that can be overcome only by the infusion of the spirit of Christianity and the practical adoption of the Christian ethic. As never before it is vital for the world to realise that to give is to receive; to lose one's life is to save it, and to save one's life is to lose it. If the principle of service which the Commission so strongly advocates were to be adopted the grave difficulties and problems with which the world is now faced could be successfully solved.

“Fundamentally there is no justification either for the unemployment or for the poverty that now exists. The unemployment is the direct result of a mentality, the antithesis to that of the Christian. Notwithstanding the dreadful lesson which the nations received during the war, their policy since has differed in no essential from that pursued prior to the war. It has been one of international antagonism, whereas the situation demanded international co-operation. Had the nations co-operated to repair the injuries and the devastation which the war had caused, the labour of every man in the world would have been required and there would have been no unemployment in any country. The nations which have been so sorely injured would have had no difficulty in obtaining what they needed, and the nations which were not injured by the war would have had no difficulty in selling all they could produce. Moreover, there is not

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only no justification for the existing unemployment and destitution arising from the war and its consequences, there is no justification for that degree of poverty which existed before the war, and which has since been intensified.

“A survey of the entire world shows that the poverty of other nations, with probably one or two exceptions, is much greater than the poverty in our own country. It is quite true that the poverty of the world, and more particularly of our own country, has greatly diminished during the past century, in consequence of inventions as well as of mental development. Nevertheless, the poverty that remains is appalling. It is no exaggeration to say that something like two-thirds of the peoples of the entire world are still under the poverty line. I make this statement not to minimise the poverty in our own country, where prior to the war something like one-third of our people were still under the poverty line, but to give some true indication of the magnitude of the problem, that you may realise that fundamentally there is no economic justification for poverty in any part of the world and that it is the result of lack of co-operation and of good-will. The amount of natural wealth with which the Creator has endowed our great world is practically unlimited. All that is needed to place this natural wealth at the service of mankind and to destroy poverty is that universal policy of co-operation and good-will which is the natural product of the Christian outlook.

“The holding of this Conference and the Reports of the Commissions have filled me with hope that

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this problem is about to be squarely faced and perseveringly solved. With the knowledge we have to-day, plus good-will and co-operation, the great mass of the people of all nations can be brought out of poverty into relative affluence. This cannot be accomplished, however, unless everyone gives willing service, and makes the greatest possible contribution to the common well-being. It cannot be too clearly realised that the well-being of each one is in some measure governed by the amount of wealth that the whole world produces, and that in proportion as each one does good work, by producing the greatest quantity of wealth he can, with all the scientific assistance he can command, poverty throughout the world will be destroyed. The most certain way to promote poverty is for each one to do the least amount of work possible for the greatest sum that can be extracted from the common purse. The sure way to increase prosperity is for each one of us to do the work that we have to do efficiently, and to see that all receive that equitable participation in the resulting product to which they are justly entitled.

“The extraordinary effort which the nations exerted during the war would not have been possible had not everyone in all the belligerent nations understood and appreciated the greatness of the task that needed to be performed. It was only possible because everyone understood and everyone assisted. The present danger demands a similar collective and great effort. But it will not be possible unless everyone understands the nature of the problems needing to be solved. The effort

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that is now called for is an effort to preserve life, not to destroy it, an effort to make life more worth the living and not to render life insupportable. If the people of our own country alone were animated by the principles of the Master, the preservation of the world from disaster would no longer be in doubt. Moreover, were the people of our own country convinced that the way out of our difficulties was the Christian way, other nations would soon be convinced also. Especially would the great American nation stand with us. Let the British and American peoples stand boldly and strongly for the solution of the existing dangerous political, economic and social problems by the application of Christian principles, and we shall not have much longer to wait for the dawn of the new day in which war, poverty and unemployment are no longer, and in which men and women are free to bring the greatest contribution they are capable of bringing to the common good."

Discussion

Rev. ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D. (Manchester—Lancashire Independent College), said, the first Resolution was too sweeping. The labourer was worthy of his hire, and had a right to claim it, so long as he gave due service and expressed his demands with regard for others' needs. On the other hand, one could not deny the right of the capitalist employer to make a gain. Instead of absolutely eliminating the desire of gain, Dr. Mackintosh argued on the side of checking it and subordinating

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it in its proper relation to the instinct of service. He described the ideal condition as one in which the seller welcomes the buyer, the buyer welcomes the seller, the employer welcomes the employee and the employee is glad to be hired. The Christian must of necessity help himself as well as others. Let Copec not add to the bewilderment of the situation, nor make men's consciences heavier.

The Commission accepted the point and substituted the words "should be the predominance of the motive of service over the motive of gain."

Rev. A. B. ROBB (Falkirk—Scottish Christian Social Union) supported the first Recommendation, and said the motive therein laid down should inspire our national aims as well, otherwise the spirit of gain would conquer the nation. It was a call to this Conference to get to business. During the war we had achieved some success in establishing the spirit of unity within the body politic. He condemned the organisation, methods and aims of the Standard Oil Company, with its 400 per cent. per annum. He regretted that the method of business men to-day was to move their works abroad. This set men against masters, and showed that Prussia, rather than Nazareth, was inspiring our business princes. Unscrupulous trusts were more to be feared than ambitious kings. High-souled men of business were looking to the disciples of Christ for a lead.

Rev. EDWARD LEACH (Birmingham Diocesan Conference) as a pupil of Henry Scott Holland criticised the first Resolution. He would ask the Commission to add at least one or two words, which

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would include the Joint Stock Banks in the Resolution. The present system of private control was utterly unsatisfactory and should be substituted by public control. Many people were watching to see what Copec would do in this connection.

The CHAIRMAN announced that the words "and finance" would be inserted in the first Resolution, as expressing what was in the Report.

Rev. A. H. GRAY, D.D. (Glasgow—Member of Sex Commission), said that a good many people deplored the use of the word "ultimate" in the first Resolution, and would prefer the word "immediate."

The Commission expressed willingness to leave out the word "ultimate."

Rev. J. M. WILMOT BROOKE (York Diocesan Conference) asked for more emphasis on the character and personality of employing directors. If workers should dedicate their hands to God in industry, we should also require directors, whether they had overdrafts or not, to dedicate their brains and their affections to the service of industry and not act merely as an impersonal Board.

Rev. CONRAD NOEL (Thaxted) said we needed a tremendous urge in this matter. We must labour not for mere modification of evils, but for a fundamental transformation, remembering that our Lord had told us the Kingdom of God would break in at a moment's notice. The Kingdom of God was not merely abstract sovereignty but a society of persons—the commonwealth of God.

Mr. CLIVE DAVIES (Liss—Y.M.C.A.) did not disregard the evils dealt with in the Report, but

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said that the main thing was to induce the saver to save and to ensure that the resulting capital was efficiently managed. The shareholder performed this function for society. The necessity for saving and efficient management of capital was not compatible with the first Resolution as it originally stood, for the Resolution embodied the principle of nationalisation of industry.

Mr. SYDNEY W. PASCALL (London), as an employer, accepted the idea of service as a better motive for industry than gain, but he differed from the Solicitor-General's claim that the motives inspiring professional men were higher than those animating business men. One will find as much honesty and goodness of motive among employers as among members of the professions.

The Report was very valuable but unequal in its parts. In some cases, having got to the bottom of the problem, the Commission refused to face the obvious remedy, whereas in other cases it only scratched the surface yet toyed with the most drastic remedies. One palpable omission was the failure to deal with the international aspect and with export trade.

He hoped that the Report would provide the ground for going deeper into the problems, and seeking a solution which would be sanctioned by God and the conscience of man.

Rt. Rev. BISHOP HAMILTON BAYNES (Birmingham Committee) said though the representatives were appointed by their Churches and Societies as interested in industrial affairs, they were far ahead of the bulk of the people. They would have to go

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back to puzzled folk who would, many of them, think them dreadful. The mind of the Conference must be represented effectively to them. On the one hand was a country crying out with needs, on the other a million unemployed who might be employed in producing houses, clothes and food. Land was continually going out of cultivation, yet it would be far better for some of this million to be cultivating and producing their own food supply. He condemned the wastefulness of the present system of distribution.

Mr. J. T. EDWARDS (Liverpool—Student Christian Movement) discussed the duty of the Christian in an unchristian order of industry. There were so many people wishing to express the Christian principle in shop, factory and office, and feeling a sense of desertion by the Church. The Report would be a tremendous encouragement to them. Two more things were required: (a) A more positive teaching about the Christian vocation in industry. (b) Christian fellowship for young workers through the Church. We were not sufficiently sensitive to the anti-social acts of individual members of our congregations, and we needed a corporate act of penitence to make fellowship a vital thing.

Rev. H. H. L. L. MARSH (Southwell Diocesan Conference) said what man wanted was the certainty that every man willing to work should have a chance to work and get for himself the full fruits of his work, and that there should be no panic-strike, lock-out folly, combine, trust or speculation. "Every man" included dukes and dustmen; "full results" meant the worth of the work to the world.

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No force of autocracy or revolutionism could solve the problem. The great mass of Labour was looking to the Church to solve it. He described the application of the "golden rule" by a big American firm in all relations between employers and employees, and spoke of the splendid results obtained.

Mr. HERBERT DOVE (Hexham) recalled Christ's teaching about the danger of wealth, and said the Churches must guide the business and secular mind on this vital point. Every Church should act courageously in the matter, and could thereby do a great deal to help the business man who was trying to express Christianity in the practical world. The Church should lay more stress upon brotherhood in the industrial world. Christianity and science ought to unite, and in their unity the business man would find the solution of his problems in the light of the ideals of Jesus Christ.

The CHAIRMAN said that his many visits on behalf of Copec had filled him with hope because of the great number of employers who were inspired with the highest idealism.

Resolution I was re-drafted as follows: "The aim of Christians with regard to industry, commerce and finance should be to procure the predominance of the motive of service over the motive of gain."

The first three Resolutions were carried.

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Sir MAX MUSPRATT (Member of the Commission) introduced Resolutions 4, 5 and 6.

“The Report on Industry and Property is a well of information on the most perplexing problems of our whole material life. If it states the problems rather than suggests the solutions, this is due to the complexity of the subject and the comparatively short time, in spite of strenuous work put in by members of the Commission.

“If Christians will read the Report in a spirit of self-analysis, constantly asking themselves the question, ‘How can I help to solve this problem?’ a body of Christian thought and action will be built up which must profoundly influence the nation. It is ultimately on individual consciences acting in a co-operative spirit that improvement depends. One fundamental difficulty must be faced; the material and the spiritual cannot in the world as it is be immediately reconciled at every point. In any message to the world the Christian Churches cannot simply denounce the present system unless and until they have some better system of day-to-day living to suggest.

“There are portions of the Report with which I cannot agree, because I think the ideal has been allowed to obscure the practical. In the chapter on the distribution of wealth I think there is a grave fallacy in economics. While poverty in every form, material or spiritual, is repugnant to the Christian conscience, it is not justifiable to deduce therefrom

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that possession of great wealth should also be repugnant, unless there is evidence that the one is caused by the other. There is not a shred of evidence to support such a view ; indeed, all evidence is to the contrary. It is the successful and wealthy industrialist who normally sets the example to the less wealthy in wages and conditions and wide philanthropy, and it is the nations with the largest number of wealthy people which have in practice the highest standard of living all round. It is better for one man to have £100,000 per annum than for ten men to have £10,000, for he can save half of it with ease, whereas the men with £10,000 would find it difficult to save in the same proportion.

“ Apart from this note of dissent I commend the Report to the earnest consideration of all Christians.

“ One or two things I would like to add. There is great need to reconcile what the worker requires with his job. Trade Unionists rightly claim that a man's wages should be according to the nature of his work. There is no natural connection between this and the maintenance needed. Is the adequate remuneration to be based on the requirements of an unmarried man or of a man with a family ? If the Commission's recommendation be taken too literally, it might mean that an employer was justified in paying less to a teetotaler than to a drunkard, since the former could keep himself and family on less. That difficulty has not yet been faced.

“ I would utter a word of warning regarding measures taken to deal with unemployment, that they do not, while putting some men into work,

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turn out others. It would be quite easy to do this. Then there are large numbers of people who, as I think, hold wrong views concerning emigration. This holds great possibilities and is one of the avenues which should be carefully explored.

“The recommendation against extremes of wealth must in my judgment be taken to refer only to ill-spent wealth, not to accumulation of wealth in productive ways. I should have liked to see a greater emphasis upon the necessity of work, which is the only solution of our problems. We must build up wealth before we can distribute it, and work is the only way. Because we disapprove of the idle rich, do not let us have the idle multitude.

“Clear thinking on all these things is imperative, and let us remember that though social and industrial problems are closely interlocked, they are by no means always the same.”

Discussion

Mr. HERBERT PICKLES (Hebden Bridge—Society of Friends) said the Apostles were out to challenge the world. To-day the world-order challenged Christianity. If Resolution No. 4 was carried, that challenge would be intensified a thousandfold. As to the implications of the Resolution, what was “a sufficient wage to maintain the worker and his family in health and dignity”? What if industry, as at present organised, could not pay that wage? What was Copec going to do? The Conference had already passed certain resolutions embodying the definition of a “sufficient wage”; 68s. per week was not sufficient to maintain a family in decency.

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What was Copec going to do about the Southampton strikers, who refused a wage of 47s. per week? What were we going to do with industry, which, organised as it was to-day, admittedly could not carry out Resolution No. 4? It was playing with social dynamite unless Copec was prepared to stand by its resolutions.

Mr. T. BROOKE (Huddersfield) expressed thanks for this opportunity and for the Report. He urged that the Bible was the greatest collection of factory laws, etc., and should be more studied. He pleaded for the dispelling of the fog of misunderstanding about property and industry that came partly from past misdoings and partly from certain sections of the Press. As an employer and man of property he would ask them to study our Lord's words given in St. Mark ix. He ventured to make three suggestions:—1. To Mr. Pickles and Labour leaders. They should encourage the hiring of capital by labour. 2. To the Press, that they should report p. 195 as well as p. 194 of the Report. 3. As an employer in the textile industry which employed many women, he suggested that the condition of the home was one of the greatest causes of trouble. Some of those, whether of two rooms or of twenty, were not as happy as they might be made.

Mrs. HORACE PARSONS (Canada) said wages must be considered as sacred. She described how these matters are dealt with in Ontario, with its Minimum Wage Board representing capital and labour. She told how the work and wages of women and girls had been dealt with, and how the saplings which spring up around the tree of industry were pruned

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away. No child was allowed to enter industry until it was sixteen years of age, and they were endeavouring to remove the widow from competitive industry and place her in the home, as the mother of citizens with a motherhood allowance. They had also been trying to take out the unmarried mother, by giving her maintenance for her child up to its sixteenth year. They had almost entirely eliminated the low, unwholesome and unsocial wage for girls.

Mr. A. PENSTONE (Bolton) speaking to Resolution 4, urged that anti-social sweating should be prohibited. We must not compound with slavery by importing foreign sweated goods. He suggested a "Christian trade-mark" as a guarantee that goods had been produced under Christian conditions, and reminded the Conference that the Resolutions as to decent conditions, passed at Washington, had not yet received the driving force of the Christian population of Great Britain.

Councillor A. H. TURNER (Manchester Diocesan Conference), dealing with No. 5, urged the Churches to remember the idle rich as well as the unemployed poor. The former were the basis of the greater portion of our industry, through the Joint Stock Companies. They dispossessed themselves of all authority and all work, and simply received dividends, serving society in no way, contributing nothing to the stock from which they drew.

Mr. J. E. TUKE (London—Society of Friends) said the Society of Friends believed that, if the monopoly control of land and credit issue were removed, economic freedom for all members of

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the community might be set up. He urged that, as asked for by the Conference of the Churches on unemployment, an inquiry be instituted into the causes of unemployment and the reasons which prevented the abundance of the means of life being obtainable by all people. The question of prices was becoming more important than that of wages, for the effort to decrease prices united the community, whereas the attempt to increase wages might cause disruption.

Mr. FRED HUGHES (London Diocesan Conference) referred to the technical aspect of the questions, and said there must be an authoritative inquiry. It would probably reveal the fact that extreme riches and extreme poverty sprang from the same roots. He contested the statement that a capital levy would reduce the potential credits upon which the banks finance industry. If a mercantile civilisation could not provide reasonable security without depriving people of freedom, it must give way to some other form of civilisation.

Rev. T. W. ROFF (Manchester) asked the Reference Committee to consider a Resolution calling for a thorough inquiry into the causes of unemployment. It was no good talking to young people about ideals if at the very threshold of maturity they were plunged into despair because there seemed no prospect of ever having a home. "How many of this Conference have been unemployed? I have walked the streets when as a young fellow I should have been full of the ideals of manhood."

Mrs. STURGE GRETTON (Member of the Commission) pleaded for more consideration for the

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agricultural labourer. She was going back to a rural district, practically untouched by progress of thought. The stream of social amelioration in the last 100 years had left such districts high and dry. Yet in the war the agricultural labourer had been torn from his old associations and thrown suddenly into the hotch potch of war. He would never be the same again. Conditions were also changed as regards the landowners and farmers. The old landlord and the old farmer had some sense of responsibility, according to their lights. This had very largely disappeared. The labourer had lacked an organ of expression. The Wages Board was the first he had had. It had been discontinued but now it was coming back. But she feared that the young men were now largely out of control of the Union.

Resolutions 4, 5 and 6 were carried. It was explained that "unemployment" must be taken to cover "under-employment."

Rev. WILL REASON introduced Resolutions 7 and 8.

"The last Resolution is, I believe, so generally accepted that I will with permission take it first. Its appeal and its application is to Christians, who if circumstances liberate them from compulsion to work will surely use that liberty in selection rather than rejection of service. But to those who do not accept the Christian ideal we may also point out that independence of compulsion to serve makes them all the more dependent on the incessant toil of muscle, heart and brain on the part of others, maintaining the store of goods and services from

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which they draw. Does not the better kind of independence suggest the giving of some service in return?

“The other Resolution makes the moral justification of property rights depend on their effect on personality. It was not by premeditated design that all the Reports agree in putting *personality* in the first place. It is the end of all our activities. It will be seen that we do not deny the value of property rights as such. These, of course, are of many kinds. I suppose the right to draw from an Unemployment Fund to which one has contributed is one of them. The Report speaks of other kinds. The general sense of the Commission is that the development of personality requires some measure of property for its development. If not, why be troubled about the lack of it, for ourselves or for others? But the more keenly this necessity is urged, the keener becomes the criticism on the present distribution, which denies it to such large numbers.

“We have *not* said that disparity, either of income or of property, is necessarily bad. The equality we plead for is an equal regard for the personality of everyone. It is as important that the child of a docker should be developed to his full capacity as for the ‘heir of a hundred belted earls.’ If everyone had enough for this it would suffice to remind those who had more of the warnings given by Christ regarding the danger of riches to themselves.

“But we cannot agree that the disparities disclosed by social investigators are of this nature. Analysis shows that the present distribution of

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property rights is not based on any principle, whether of desert or ability or welfare of the persons concerned or contribution to the well-being of society. To a very great extent it just happens because the social and economic forces have been allowed to slip out of moral control.

“ Neither do we claim that this will be put right by a merely mechanical division of present products. What is required is not a static but a dynamic distribution. The criticism is often made that if the present national income were equally divided, it would only add a small and ineffective amount to the vast majority of incomes while destroying the means of an ampler culture for the comparatively few. That is based on Prof. Bowley’s excellent analysis, but I wish that those who quote it would also quote what he says in the same connection. He shows that the only hope of better things is in the increase of the annual production of the nation, and among the means he advocates for this are that the workers should have better education, improved physique, ampler leisure and full opportunity for the use of all intelligence, strength and skill. He wants a better use of capital and labour power. Our criticism of the present distribution is that somehow it hinders production. The factors of production stand more or less idle while the people want. The essential fact is that people are not housed or fed or educated as they might be, and it is not lack of resources that causes this, but the way of handling them, and the present distribution of property rights is a contributory cause. That is what I mean by a dynamic redistribution rather than

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static. Mr. Pickles said that if we passed these Resolutions we were playing with *dynamite*. If we do nothing more that may be so. But what we want is such a regard for personality as will be a *dynamo*, generating power to solve the problems of property and human life which confront us.

“We believe that rightly handled the resources of the world in which God has put us are sufficient for all needs of personality. We believe that our Lord was speaking economic truth when He said that if we made the Reign of God the first object of our endeavour, all things would be added to us.”

Discussion

Mr. C. H. SMITHSON (Totteridge—Society of Friends) referred to the question whether all forms of property were equally justifiable. He believed Christians should make a distinction between property in things produced by man, and property in things which were created by God. The value of the latter should be treated as the common heritage of mankind, but the product of man should belong to the producer. He asked the Reference Committee for a declaration on these lines, because the earth and the fullness thereof had been given by the Creator to the children of men without respect of persons.

REV. PAUL STACEY (Coventry Diocesan Conference) referred to the chapter on Finance. On p. 55 the writers recalled the fact that at the outbreak of war “the Government stood behind the banks, and put the credit of the community behind millions

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of pounds' worth of private bills." Again, "The immense power wielded by the banks rests in the hands of a small oligarchy of wealthy men." These were later quoted from another writer as "the arbiters of our national economy." Again, p. 57, "commercial credit can be manufactured by the banks." Yes, of our war debt more than £6,000,000,000 originated in nothing but figures in bank books. The community had therefore to pay hundreds of millions annually indefinitely as interest on its own property, for all credit was communally created, though it was exploited privately.

The real connection of these things was not made clear as it was by Arthur Kitson and C. H. Douglas. It was the filching of purchasing power from the community *as consumer* through the relation between credit and prices which was the chief trouble, though not the only one.

Still less in this chapter was it pointed out, as Douglas and Prof. Soddy had done, that the struggle for export markets was due to our compulsion to sell abroad what we needed at home, but had not the money tokens wherewith to buy; and that this was the root economic cause of war.

No solution of this question was just or complete which did not include the adoption of a new financial policy which would distribute credit to consumers by some scientific method of price regulation. If the Church was really to lead us to a corporate penitence, and to share in Christ's sacrificial redeeming work, she must be prepared to attack not only the devil and the flesh, but the

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world. The centre and citadel of our evil world organisation was summed up in money power.

Rt. Rev. BISHOP GORE, D.D. (Christian Social Crusade) regretted that the second and third resolutions, though vastly important, had been passed without discussion. This afternoon the duel between Sir Max Muspratt and Mr. Pickles had really gone to the heart of things, as had the appeals of Mr. Roff and Mrs. Gretton. These considerations must be brought to the public notice, and particularly to the notice of the Christian Churches. We were not considering mainly or merely a question of wages, but the deeper questions of security, of knowledge for the workers, of shares in management, and lastly of share in profits. We had passed the time when industry was the property of an individual, and the workers were his "hands." Dr. Gore implored the Conference not to regard the vast employer of labour in America as the hope of the economic industrial problem. The solution was not in personal philanthropy, for industry depended not on the initiative of one and the labour of many, but on the co-operation of capital and labour and consumer. The problem was the fair sharing of the three combined.

We were often told that the stimulating force of industry was the power of the individual, urged by the incentive of unlimited authority, but this was presenting the problem from the wrong angle. Suppose the whole mass of labour could feel a sense of security, the opportunity of real knowledge of what was going on in the business—suppose it had a real share in the management and an equable

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share of the profits, with a feeling that it was working not for an individual or a body of shareholders but for itself and for society—the motive for doing its best would be liberated over so vast a number of people that the whole industrial stimulus of the country would be much greater.

Referring to Mr. Smithson's argument, Dr. Gore asked how he would apply his distinction to a cabbage garden.

Copec, added the speaker, would be judged by its practical work, and for that he trembled. He earnestly appealed to Copec to hear the challenge. He was greatly distressed that the Roman Catholics had withdrawn officially from the Conference, but beyond his distress he was amazed at the grounds on which they had withdrawn. It was almost unbelievable that any leaders of the Christian Church could hold that the Church had not failed to make men understand the meaning of Christianity and brotherhood. If any member of the Church, however powerful, was not prepared to co-operate, we knew that there were many within the Roman Communion animated by the same spirit as ourselves, who were determined that the united voice of Christendom should be raised on this matter, and that men should be helped to understand what Christianity was for.

We needed tremendous courage to ask ourselves frankly whether we were really prepared to accept these fundamental principles and to apply them, whatever the effect upon our party politics.

The Churches must be seen acting together locally as well as centrally if they were to impress

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the consciences of men. We should want a great central body with a bureau watching, informing, guiding. The Christian Social Crusade had been striving to do this work, but it was pining to die in the arms of that greater organisation which Copec was expected to create.

As to whether this combination was to be official, Dr. Gore suggested that a more vigorous body could be secured by representation on the lines of the present Conference. They might combine a Copec Continuation Committee with representatives officially appointed. Still more essential was the preparedness of Christians all over the country to accept the challenge of the Resolutions passed.

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FRIDAY MORNING

REV. HUGH MARTIN (Chairman of Executive) presiding.

LORD EUSTACE PERCY (Member of the Commission) presented the Report.

“I must ask you to remember that while one can collaborate in a composite Report, one cannot convert oneself into a composite person. In what I say I shall necessarily lay stress on the aspects of the Report which appeal most to me personally.

“This Conference would miss its purpose if it added to the strife of tongues existing in politics to-day. What the political world needs from us is rather a clear witness to our faith.

“As Christians, our hope for mankind is not centred in the State. Our hope is nothing less—must be nothing less—than the redemption of man’s whole nature, body, soul and spirit. Such redemption depends on means utterly beyond the scope of human policy. There is an idolatry of the State into which both reactionary and progressive schools of thought are only too liable to fall. We must resist

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the common temptation to suppose that in ordinary States, or other States like the League of Nations, or in some super-State there is some way in which flesh and blood can inherit the Kingdom of God.

“On the other hand, we believe that the State is not merely the creation of some social contract, but is ordained by God for certain purposes and derives its authority from Him. From this, two conclusions follow. First, the State has a claim to obedience, limited indeed by its limited function, but more compelling than any claim based on expediency. Secondly, right political action is the duty of every Christian. Such action must consist, not in mere compliance with the popular will nor in skilful adaptation of means to ends, but in seeking and following the will of God.

“This is so common a phrase that we may forget that it means anything in particular. Yet it surely means something directly contrary to the whole tendency of the last hundred years—to go no further back—to deny that God’s will has anything to do with the regulation of political societies. Nearly everywhere the State has either risen and cast out the Church or has pushed it quietly aside. The State has indeed been right to revolt against ecclesiastical dictation and privilege; but the movement has gone further and its results are clearly reflected in the political language of the day. Politics is spoken of as a science or an art or sometimes a religion in itself, but to the modern mind there is something vaguely illiberal in supposing that political wisdom depends in any great degree upon divine guidance. ‘Let a man,’ we think, ‘believe faith-

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fully in the social reform programme of his own party, but let him worship God in his own manner.'

"For this Christians themselves are most to blame. It is largely our fault if the elementary truths in which we believe sound to the world like an echo of old debates about establishments and endowments or call up memories of German imperial proclamations. But the time has come for a re-assertion of these truths. Few to-day are really satisfied with current explanations of recent political failures; few put much faith in rival political programmes. A century of fancied progress has ended in the greatest catastrophe of history; the gospel of democracy and nationalism offered by all political parties in all Allied countries as the remedy for that catastrophe has proved no remedy at all; the collective wisdom of Europe and America has produced an unstable and distracted peace.

"All who realise their Christian responsibility as citizens will labour to bring a just order out of this chaos, and success or failure will depend upon our belief or unbelief. Throughout the Bible from Eden to the New Jerusalem, for political societies no less than for individuals, faith is the condition of every promise, and false worship the ground of every condemnation. Belief is not the hobby of religious pedants, but the foundation of all human progress. Right worship as the approach to the true God, and the knowledge to be gained only by that approach, are not the refuge of the indolent or the despairing, but the absolute conditions upon which power is granted or withheld by Him to whom all power is given in heaven and on earth.

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“This is not an easy doctrine to preach. The world is ready enough for some spectacular religious revival which will stoke up political energy; it is less ready to accept conditions or admit limitations. Such acceptance, such admission, will depend largely on the way in which we who believe act upon our belief. I am going now to say something which may not represent my colleagues. The world is, I think, apt to be somewhat perplexed by a certain contrast between the quiet and clear-sighted performance of obvious social duties so constantly enjoined upon Christians by the writers of the Epistles and the rather feverish exploration of social problems in which earnest Christians feel compelled to engross themselves to-day. No doubt social relations in the modern State are infinitely complicated and must be carefully and fully studied, but a too anxious search for expedients will be taken, not unjustly, as a sign that we neither have guidance nor can give it. A great American judge once said to me that ‘education in the obvious is more important than investigation into the obscure.’ That dictum has perhaps a special application to us. In face of present conditions idleness and indifference are unthinkable, but it is none the less true that in quietness and in confidence shall be our strength, and it is only quietness and confidence that men will follow.

“We, of all men, have ground for confidence, and our confidence lies in those obvious truths that modern political thought and constitutional developments have so largely forsaken. By the loss of these things disaster has come upon us; in their recovery lies the healing of the nations.”

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Discussion

Mr. H. J. MORLAND (Croydon—Hon. Treasurer, Copec) spoke to the first Resolution. He thought that if we tried to found the sacred obligations of citizenship on some authority of the State we should be founding something of enormous importance on a rotten foundation. He did not agree with the statement (p. 7) that the State could demand obedience in God's name.

Discussing the difficult saying of Christ with reference to Cæsar and God, Mr. Morland declared that Christ in no way bore witness to the authority of Cæsar. The penny was something made by Cæsar for a definite purpose, and the citizen was quite entitled to pay it. What was the State? Very wisely, the Commission did not define it. But he thought its authority was closely connected with brute force. The things it dealt with were mostly matters of secondary importance, things called crimes, and other matters of social convenience. The authority of the State was something quite different from the authority of God, Who worked through love. This alters everything. Even as regards stealing—taking what does not belong to you. One steals freely from friends, because of the relation of love!

Mr. J. W. GRAHAM (Manchester) proposed to omit the first Resolution and to substitute the following: "The State is an organisation which may be reactionary and may lag behind public opinion, but which it is our Christian duty earnestly to improve and to serve, and within the limits of our

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conscience to obey. Christians should be willing, while their strength lasts, to spend and be spent in its service."

He distinguished the State from the nation. The latter was one of the great needs of this world, a spiritual fact, but the former was a mere mechanism which must stand or fall in its reputation by its efficiency. It was necessary and important, but not of sacred character. Would you say that all States, from Tsarist to Bolshevist, were sacred? Is a post-office holier than the grocer's shop next door? the destroyer more than the merchant ship it sinks?

The CHAIRMAN said the Resolution could not be put as it had not been handed in previously. The Conference, however, on his suggestion, voted the suspension of the Standing Orders, and it was ultimately decided that Lord Eustace Percy and Mr. Graham, with one or two others, should prepare an agreed Resolution.

Rev. Canon W. C. COMPTON (Dover—Christian Social Crusade) spoke to the second Resolution, on class distinctions, and urged further the more careful use of class-terms. For example, the phrases "working class" and "working man" ought to cover all those who worked. Sir Wyndham Deedes, the Commission's Chairman, was rightly described as a "worker at Oxford House."

Mrs. E. F. WISE (London—Member of Home Commission) said if Resolution 2 was passed the delegates must be ready to act. She condemned the present education system as one of the prime causes of class distinction, and said children of all classes

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should be educated together, by the best possible process of education.

Rev. A. GRAHAM-BARTON (London—Baptist Union) discussed the attitude of ministers to politics and the relation between religion and politics. Politics was one's duty towards one's neighbour, and it was the responsibility of every citizen to study politics. The Church should associate itself with the party which had for its object the betterment of national life. Religion must come into political life, and law must be influenced by Christian principles.

The second Recommendation was unanimously carried.

Miss KENYON (member of the Commission) introduced Resolution 3 :

“ Canon Scott Holland once confided to a meeting of the Christian Social Union the immense excitement which the creation of the London County Council stirred in his breast. He contemplated the fact leaning over Westminster Bridge, and again wandering through some of London's meanest streets, murmuring to himself, ‘ London has a soul at last,’ and feeling like dancing for delight at the fulfilment of his long-cherished vision. London had become responsible for its own life.

“ Local government as we know it to-day is young enough to have been really exciting within living memory. The beginnings of the machinery were not there till 1835 ; Public Health, the first great function we now associate with it, was not brought under it till 1875 ; Education, the other

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typical function, in some sense, in 1871, but not under the general local machinery till 1902; Housing not effectively till 1890. Again, the principal Municipal Corporations Act is as recent as 1882, County Councils date from 1888, and Parish and District Councils from 1894. Alongside of this development the battle for the place of women in local government was fought and won; and fought always on the ground of the special kind of service that women could render. Is it not surprising that this great development should have become a field where threatened interests strove to maintain themselves, but also a field for service by public-spirited persons, in which social reformers have experimented, and steady administrators have steadily drudged.

“The interest of the work is probably not so obvious to-day as it once was. Birmingham was once without a main drainage system. It possesses that amenity to-day. The enthusiasm of public health is not so visibly clamant as in the days of Chadwick and Southwood Smith. Before the housing problem we hesitate, uncertain whether it is not too tremendous to be solved by municipal action. Education offers great scope to the administrator at the present time; but educational enthusiasts tend to arrive on their Education Committees rather by the back-door of co-option. On the whole, local government work is by no means as prominent in the mind of the social reformer as it was in that of the generation of twenty or thirty years ago. I am not complaining of the younger generation. It is not remarkably keen about local

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self-government, but it is extremely keen about industrial self-government, and it is probably quite right in thinking that there lies the big job now to be tackled.

“ But we are here to claim that every aspect of life shall be brought within the purview of our Christian conscience; that the whole of life is needed for the expression of the greatness of the Christian character; that in all our social life, and therefore in our local citizenship as well as elsewhere, we are to seek the Kingdom of God. We shall not fully know what the City of God means unless we learn it, as it has always been learnt, through the love of our own city. While we are thankful for all the Christian love and service that has been expressed through the service of the city in the past, we repent that this has been individual mainly, not characteristically brought into the common teaching of the Church, or its common prayers; and we want to see the Church as a steady source of inspiration for this as for other social service. It ought to be more than it is—Christian public opinion which sees the evils in its own locality, and demands their abolition; and which sees also the possibilities of developing freer and wider life, through libraries, and art galleries, and parks, and playing-fields; and demands that they be provided.

“ Of late years a good deal has been done on these lines through such organisations as the Christian Social Crusade, and its Interdenominational Social Service Councils. We want to see these developed more widely and more strongly. Two things tend to stand in the way. First, that we are still so apt

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to see our Christianity only in terms of worship and personal morality—so called, as though social morality were not also the morality of persons; and our organisation and social intercourse as Church members tends to be limited to purely ecclesiastical ends. The mental limitation that thus results Copec is here to dispel. The Study Group and Conference movement will be perhaps the greatest method available for this purpose. The other difficulty, more characteristic of our special subject this morning, is the party system in politics. The Church is so penetrated by the idea that it must be non-party that it fears to say anything that might coincide with something said by some party: and indeed it almost fears to mention matters which are the subject of differences between parties. Now there are two points which I think are unfamiliar to our thought, but very valuable in the conclusions of the Politics Commission. The first is that not merely is the party system perfectly right and good, but the party machine itself is a political instrument which every good citizen ought to take his part in using. If there has been some false conscience about, to the effect that party and the party machine were necessary, but not quite Christian, and therefore better left out of sight in our Christian thinking, our Commission desires to dispel that idea. The second point we make in this connection is that what the Church must aim at is not the negative end of being *non-party*, but the positive end of being *inter-party*. Practically, the members of the Church belong to all parties. This must not prevent them in the fellowship of the Church from together testing

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their political conclusions in the light of their Christian faith. They may go out to act together, or they may go out to act in opposition as regards method; but there must be no subject they are afraid of considering together, and no action they cannot bring under Christian principles."

Discussion

Mrs. PARKER CRANE (London Missionary Society) said that Copec would be judged by results, and for these needed young people to carry it on. As Warden of a Settlement in the East End she had welcomed young women and helped them to train themselves for effective citizenship. But they were too often discouraged by their people at home. Some of the Churches were doing good work in this way, but too many would not spare their members for anything outside the Church work. They should not merely allow but constrain them into it and support them with their prayers. Training was necessary and the Settlements gave opportunity for this. From the first Settlements had stood for the deepening and enlarging of personal life.

Capt. LIONEL F. ELLIS, D.S.O. (London), referred to p. 106, with its definition of social service. A great deal of social service at present, he said, *was* the effort of one class to help another by organised philanthropic work. A young man asked to take part in "a common effort" might be fired; an invitation to a "philanthropic effort" would leave him cold. The fact that all kinds of social service were interdependent was very little recognised

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to-day, and it was Copec's duty to teach people how to apply the Christian principle of relationship between all groups.

LORD EUSTACE PERCY brought up the following Resolution as a substitute for No. 1 : "The purpose of the State is to bind men together in a justly-ordered social life, and its authority ought to be generally accepted by Christians. The duties of citizenship are a sacred obligation for Christian people. The authority of the State is limited by its functions, and ought to be challenged by the Christian conscience only in the name of God. Christians should be willing, while their strength lasts, to spend and be spent in its service."

The Commission, said LORD EUSTACE, had expressly tried not to add anything to the old, old controversies concerning the political obedience of the Christian.

MR. GRAHAM seconded. The Resolution, he said, did not mean that the authority of the State should never be challenged by those who did not call themselves Christian.

The Resolution was carried with one or two dissentients.

MISS MARY E. PHILLIPS (London) spoke to Resolution 3, with reference to the Government's proposed Bill to amend the present Factory and Workshop Acts. She appealed to the Conference not to be led away by newspaper repetitions of worn-out arguments, but to put the whole force of God's Church behind the attempt to better the conditions of those who make our necessities as well as our luxuries. People often said to her that

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factory conditions were nothing to do with them. If all things in this hall, produced by factories, suddenly disappeared——! We should be naked and ashamed. We are clothed, but we should be ashamed.

The third Resolution was carried.

Speaking, by invitation of the Commission, to Resolutions 4 and 5, Mr. MINCE (*The Times*) expressed surprise at the insight revealed by the Report into the inner workings of the newspaper world. He explained, however, that there were so many different types of journals and journalism that it was impossible to regard the newspaper press as one and the same thing, and to apply the same standards of criticism to all of them. Some of the National newspapers aimed at being responsible organs of public opinion but it was quite possible for such to repudiate the responsibility. Where it was accepted, journalists felt the burden of their limitations. The ideal training became increasingly impossible; they would like it but could not get it. Those who seek a better Press should enter into personal relations with working journalists.

After discussing the ideal newspaper, he said that, disregarding its special views, the *Christian Science Monitor* was the nearest approach to the ideal set forth in the Report. But it leaves out many aspects of life on which responsible citizens should be informed.

Mr. R. H. LAWSON SLATER (Cambridge—Student Christian Movement) spoke as an old journalist, and urged that all the earlier resolutions on education, etc. depended on tackling this subject of the Press.

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The great problem was monopoly, by which the power of creating public opinion fell into the hands of a few men. Papers were not so good a money investment as was often thought. Why did rich men hang on to it? We should not get a free Press until we got freedom for journalists to write as their conscience dictated.

Resolutions 4 and 5 were carried.

Prof. H. G. Wood (Birmingham Committee), in summing up, emphasised the fifth Resolution, and said we should consider the serious misuse of publicity. He hoped that the Reference Committee would see its way to carry some of these points a good deal farther.

We were much indebted to the Commission for the Report. He was not quite satisfied with either recommendation on the authority of the State. Mr. Graham's account of the State was really not adequate. No one was going to spend himself in the service of a mechanical contrivance or a social convenience. The State was something more. Lord Acland wrote of a "national soul seeking to incarnate itself in a State." It was not exactly the soul of the nation, but it was the body in and through which the soul had to work. There was a sacramental principle involved. On the other hand, we had the long history of men who had been compelled to obey God rather than man, and had found themselves forced to acts of Christian disobedience, thereby winning for us liberty and progress.

As to the problem of parties, there was in every one of the great parties in our own State a principle

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and a spirit which ought to command the sympathy of Christians. Conservatism cherished all that was good and great in the past of our country, and the most revolutionary of us could not go untouched by this sense. Our Lord himself recognised it when he said, "No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new, for he saith, the old is better." The real meaning of Conservatism, perhaps, was in His claim that He came not to destroy but to fulfil.

He could understand also the conviction of those whose main political philosophy was the assertion of individual liberty. Partly through the long history of Christian disobedience, we had learnt the fallacy and the monstrosity of coercion. We had learnt it by the men who formed the traditions of the Liberal party, the men who fought for toleration and gave us the principles of liberty, which were infinitely precious and truly Christian. He would have liked a more explicit recognition that a democratic State came nearer to the Christian ideal and had a higher divine sanction than any other.

There were also the claims of the Labour party, the party of the great rank and file, of ordinary men and women expressing and organising themselves. The class interest embodied in the Labour movement was at least the one that most mattered. The party appealed to many because it realised that in modern conditions of industry we had a chance of making the State an organisation of the national brotherhood, a positive engine for good, not merely a negative, restrictive thing. Christians might rightly differ as to which element in the political

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outlook is most important at any moment. They might fail to sympathise with all the elements, but no Christian could fail to follow the actions of the present Government with sympathy and a desire that it might be given to them to do something for the peace of Europe.

Touching on the implications of the third Resolution, Professor Wood said what we had to do in politics was to influence the whole atmosphere of public life with the temper of this Conference. We must make those personal contacts on which the Report laid such stress.

Christianity must be vitally concerned with politics. There was no doubt a place for those who gave themselves up to a life of contemplation and prayer, but the great demand was that we throw ourselves into the arena of industry, politics, and other great interests.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH

FRIDAY AFTERNOON

Rev. A. E. GARVIE, D.D., presiding.

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP of LICHFIELD (Chairman of the Commission) introduced the Report and also presented the volume on "Historical Illustrations of the Social Effects of Christianity."

"The Commission has had many meetings and has done much hard work. Though we have come from so many different denominations we have always met in a strong spirit of unity. I confess that I have met with greater difficulties on many Diocesan Committees than on this Commission. When will the man in the street get it out of his stupid head that Christians meet to quarrel among themselves ?

"The question is often asked, What is the Church ? There are many answers to that question. A politician said to the Bishop of Manchester that he supposed the Church to be a voluntary combination of individuals who came together to promote the work of God in their own interests. I am content to take the words of the New Testament, that the Church is the Body of Christ. That is good enough

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for our present definition, without being divisive. It is the instrument for carrying out His will and doing His work in the world. One work of this body is to teach and declare the ideal.

“The subjects on which we have been specifically engaged during this week show one aspect of this work. Another is that of missionary activity. The business of the Commission has been to study the organisation of this function of witnessing to the world: the *way* of manifestation of the Kingdom of God to the world. The two speeches which follow will deal with two aspects of this: ‘The Relation of Christian Teaching to Social Life’ and ‘The Organisation needed to foster Christian Thought and Purpose.’

“Here let me say one word. We have heard much of ‘the failure of the Church.’ I confess I am not enamoured of the phrase. For we believe that the Church is the Body of Christ and that His Spirit is in it. Christ does not fail nor does His Spirit. Christian people in all parts of the Church have failed in their application of the Gospel to the social life of men. That is another matter and worthy of all repentance. But I fear that very many who use the phrase ‘failure of the Church’ mean the failure of everybody but themselves, and when they speak of corporate repentance are tacitly putting the blame on the other people.

“I commend to you, not for discussion but for study, the Historical Report. One great benefit it confers is to bring into strong relief the fact that the eclipse which the Church has undoubtedly suffered since the Industrial Revolution *is* an eclipse.

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Its members have failed in social function. They have accepted far too readily the Machiavellian philosophy in politics and the theory of self-interest in industrial life. But in so doing they have been absolutely false to the highest traditions and practice of the Church. So in pleading for the real application of Christian faith and truth to social problems we are doing nothing new. We are returning to what the Church in its best periods has been doing through the centuries."

Mr. FRED HUGHES (Member of the Commission) spoke to Recommendations 3-6 of the Report.

"I may describe the theme of this Report as 'how to lift up Christ (His life, His suffering, His death, and His message of Eternal Life) so that He shall draw all men unto Him.' That life and that message were conceived in a scale of VALUES not generally accepted—new values then, and even now different from those of the world. We are Christians because we believe that scale of Values to be the true measure of what is worth while. To the extent that we accept and act upon it we see new vistas in life. It is so much *more worth while* that we are impatient of anything that hinders its wider and fuller acceptance; we must become missionaries, carrying the 'good news' to our fellows. Hence the Church not only *has* but *is* a social function.

"Because man is a social being, his gospel must be a social gospel. Our individual lives are, on the one hand, circumscribed and determined by our corporate relation; and yet, again, it is only through that corporate relation that they find

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expression and fulfilment. The CHURCH, as a co-operative fellowship in the pursuit of truth and good works, is bound to strive for the embodiment of Christian values in corporate as well as in private life. The two are inseparable. There are not two independent aspects of the Gospel, but two equally important and necessary effects of its reception.

“My answer to those who plead that it would be absurd to think of Christian Biology, or of Christian Mathematics—and that it is equally absurd to speak of Christian Politics and Economics—is twofold.

“First, the ‘absurdity’ is more apparent than real; for the value of any scientific research lies ultimately in the application of its results, and that depends upon the *purposes* you have in view (*i. e.* on your scale of values). It is at least likely that those purposes will unconsciously influence the direction and course of your research. When science deals with human life the question of *motive* becomes important.

“But, secondly, Politics and Economics are not *exact* sciences; their material is human nature, variable in itself; and their effects follow more directly from the motives of the operator than is the case in any other department of corporate activity.

“Politics is the science of human life in aggregation. Economics is the science of production and exchange by and between human beings. Surely the result of your investigations into these matters depends to an enormous degree upon your outlook on life—your scale of Values.

“*Christian* Politics and Economics must be the science of living and working together in accordance

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with the will of God ; and we must reject as ‘ unscientific ’ all theories and conclusions of the ‘ necessity ’ of ways of life and means of livelihood which ignore or defy that will as disclosed in Jesus Christ.

“ All this points to the fact that the Church *has* a Social Function, and indicates to some extent the nature and scope of that function.

“ In the first place it must impress upon its own adherents—far more insistently and clearly than it now does—that the Christian battle is against the World, equally with the Flesh and the Devil ; that *all men* are to be drawn to Christ ; that the Gospel has not merely ‘ a social application,’ but social implications, which cannot be ignored if it is to win hearing and understanding.

“ We have travelled a long way since the great Lord Melbourne expressed his indignation and wonder at the idea of ‘ religion interfering with a man’s private life ’ ; but it is only a few weeks since a gallant Admiral gave vent to his amazement at hearing in the House of Commons doctrine which ‘ made him think he was in church.’

“ Of course there is a time and place for preaching, but in that time and place it must be insisted that *practice*, whether in the House of Commons, or in the administration of industrial undertakings, or wheresoever Christians are called upon to act, must be justifiable in the light of the Gospel. Nor should there be any dubiety about our message. Christian values are the only permanent values, and policies that are based upon any other will assuredly end in disillusionment or disaster.

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“In the Report, a serious attempt is made to enforce this view of the Church’s function, and to face the practical issues that arise when we leave the sphere of general statement and try (as every Christian minister must, and every Christian layman ought) so to deliver our message that we promote a sound judgment as well as sound sentiment.

“Some of those issues are far from being simple. In the sphere of politics and economics, personal actions, apparently right in themselves, have sometimes surprising reactions, and we require not less, but more, scientific knowledge. A very little extension of what I have already said will exhaust the present possibilities of *dogmatic* teaching.

“For obvious reasons, again, the Report touches very lightly on the subject of Church DISCIPLINE, pleading only that such measures as any Church applies in cases of personal misconduct should be equally applicable to clearly recognised breaches of the Christian rule in political and economic affairs.

“But there is unmistakably great need for more DIRECTION, from the pulpit and in other ways. We have become unduly nervous about ‘pulpit politics’; the silence of our ministers, whether from ignorance or from unwillingness to risk giving offence, is a more serious hindrance to the spread of the Gospel than mistakes in the other direction.

“I ask your attention to the suggestions made in the Report, firstly with reference to a series of steps to ensure the better equipment of the Ministry, and the better organisation and use of the special knowledge which is available; and secondly with reference to the more extensive use of the laity in

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the teaching office. I will only say that *both* these aspects of the problem deserve very full consideration.

“Especially would I commend what is said as to organised DISCUSSION AND CONFERENCE. The danger of such gatherings degenerating into mere debating meetings is so obvious, but to be aware of it is half the battle. Many here have personal experience of the way in which capable direction can help a discussion to generate light rather than heat, and to feel the real presence of God. When we are bent, not upon getting our own way, but upon making our religion a reality, it is easier than might be expected to approximate to a common mind upon the most controversial questions. Such a common mind is the indispensable preliminary to effective corporative action.

“It is sometimes suggested that some definite line of demarcation should be drawn between meetings for INSTRUCTION and meetings for WORSHIP.

“I would deprecate any such attempt. The true line is to make our gatherings for Worship an occasion of Instruction to a greater extent than we now do; and to combine our Instruction, even when we are specially concentrating upon it, with Worship. Only so can a specifically Christian teaching emerge. This is consistent with the greatest possible variety of method and of messengers.

“Finally, I would remind you again of the Missionary purpose of the Church. Behind all that I have said about the instruction of Church members lies the conviction that a deeper reality of feeling and understanding of the Gospel—in ourselves—is the condition upon which we can carry it to

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others. The leaven must *work*, or it will not *convert*. If the 'sheep that are not yet of this fold' are to be brought in, they must hear the authentic voice of the Shepherd; and we are assured that when they do, they will recognise it."

Rev. MALCOLM SPENCER (Member of the Commission) spoke to Recommendations 8 and 9 of the Report.

"I will begin with a brief analysis of the different types of subject to be treated by Christian spokesmen, and the different kinds of handling they demand in fulfilling the social function of the Church.

"1. In the first place, there are the subjects with which *preaching* can deal—probably many more than the general mind of Christians at present admit:—matters on which the Christian standard has been clearly and emphatically declared; broad pronouncements on the justice or humanity of our current social usages and institutions; where social wrongs exist, calls to be made for Christian penitence so long as the Christian conscience fails to cope with them, and for Christian initiative to remove them.

"Most important of all is the discussion of Christian doctrines and their social bearings; for the motive of Christian conduct must always be derived from the foundation truths of the Christian faith—all these and many other matters suitable for public preaching (pp. 166–68 of Report).

"2. In the second place, the accredited Christian spokesman and representative of the Christian community has his ministry to individuals, supporting and applying his ministry of public preaching.

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Preaching and pastoral direction are recognised functions of our recognised ministries. Our Churches are *organised* for their fulfilment. We may not have sufficiently equipped our ministries, nor allowed them quite sufficient scope, but the organism exists and only needs better equipment, clearer aims and further use.

“ 3. A third department of education in Christian social matters is on questions of assured facts (about the distribution of wealth, *e.g.* the incidence of destitution and unemployment, the agencies appealing for voluntary service, the relation of cause and effect in economic transactions, the elements in economic, political, and especially international life that are still unmoralised, and many other matters) which a man who would love his neighbour as himself requires to know. There will also be in the future, we trust, an increasing number of matters on which Christian judgment has been passed so decisively and unequivocally that an impartial teacher would communicate them to his pupils.

“ This side of education is not so well suited for pulpit treatment as for systematic treatment in class and lecture-room. It is also a subject on which the appeal is to the authority of science rather than to the authority of religion. It is, therefore, pre-eminently a subject for co-operation between the Churches and the scholastic bodies of our community.

“ The function of the Church is to create in its members a strong desire for such education. It may even insist that such education should be obtained, up to some recognised standard, by all who would

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be its representatives in any form of service (such as teaching in its schools or visiting homes); it might even regard a minimum of knowledge as essential to Church membership. But it is not necessarily the Church's function to provide this instruction within its own organism. Some of this teaching will doubtless be done within the separate congregations, but we hope that for these purposes the Churches may combine first with one another and then with the educational agencies of the community at large.

"The same closeness of co-operation seems to be required between the Churches acting together and the combined philanthropic agencies of the community. This is necessary to a true expression of the concern of the Church for the adequacy of all such service, alike in quantity and in quality. Without it we do not see how Christian character is to be sufficiently exercised and trained, and Christian sympathy sufficiently evoked.

"4. The final section in my analysis has to do with the formation of Christian opinion on matters of difficulty. These may arise in the sphere of individual conduct or in connection with the voluntary activities of Christian communities, or from disputed points in industrial or political life. On some there will be clear yet quite incompatible opinions held by Christians, each holding his own as springing from Christian principles. These will need to be debated. On others there will be nothing but fragmentary knowledge and hesitant opinion. On these a satisfying conclusion can only be reached by a sympathetic pooling of knowledge and ideas, and

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a concerted effort to rise to a new conception of what is truly in accordance with Christianity. In either case there is need for conference, exchange and comparison of view, patient and careful deliberation.

“Recent educational experience and theory emphatically endorse the educational value of such procedure, and many modern movements in the Church prove its spiritual value as productive of new understanding, new sympathy, new incentive to right conduct, new faith in the Christian way of life, new love of God and of the human brotherhood.

“It is essential that all such Christian deliberation should be frank, practical, methodical, continuous and prayerful. It should be carried on in good fellowship and in the name and spirit of Christ. Such fellowship in practical quest of the Christian way of life may indeed provide to a unique extent the needed initiative for the social and religious progress of to-day.

“This department of Christian education is at once peculiarly important and peculiarly in need of practical and orderly recognition in the Church’s organism. It is a neglected part of the Church’s necessary functioning; Church members are not accustomed to the idea of it, leaders are not generally trained in the method of it, literature is not readily available to facilitate it, and certainly the Churches have little organic arrangement for gathering up and disseminating the results of it.

“We emphasise the need of providing for this in the regular organism of the Church. Organi-

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sation is a disastrous waste of time and strength if it be for unimportant ends or for ends not believed in; but it is essential to the regular exercise of any great function. And this function of the Church's organism we believe to be of fundamental and pressing importance.

"Here, too, united action seems both desirable from the point of view of an adequate result, and calculated to facilitate the mutual fellowship and understanding between Christians which will tend towards our ultimate reunion.

"What is the necessary organisation for which this seems to call?

"First, each congregation should provide for its members regular opportunities of receiving instruction in social facts, regular reminders of the social needs and development of its neighbourhood, and regular occasions and means of conference and deliberation upon the applications of Christianity to social life. This bit of the Church's organism should be as *visible* on the Church's regular timetable and agenda papers as any other vital matter, and it should have a place proportionate to its newly recognised importance.

"Next, groups of congregations in each area that has a natural social unity should be united:—

"(1) To provide a good education in accepted social facts and principles, co-operating with other educational bodies.

"(2) To focus knowledge of the social needs and social agencies of the neighbourhood, so as to enlist the members of the Churches in their service.

"(3) To promote Christian conference for the

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consideration of important practical questions of Christian conduct—individual and collective.

“(4) To give a lead to public opinion from time to time on matters of moral and spiritual importance.

“Only in its entirety does this programme properly cohere and make a Christian whole.

“Finally, we recommend the formation of a single central body which will support the local bodies in the carrying out of every side of this programme, supplying them with the necessary means in the way of books, knowledge, experience and personal advisory help.

“We call particular attention to the necessity of it having an adequate research and publicity department and an adequate staff of research and publicity workers to make its other activities sound and competent. In a word, a body of workers is needed who will carry on from month to month and year to year the work which the Copec Commissions and contributory groups have so well begun, and keep it adequate to the need, in scale, speed, range and thoroughness. For such a body is wanted to supply not only information, and that rapidly and on many questions; it is wanted to enable the Churches to carry on their thinking on the most fundamental questions of Christian principles discussed by the Commissions, as well as on the more detailed problems of Christian conduct and action.”

Discussion

Mr. H. H. ELVIN (Leigh-on-Sea) felt strongly that if ever the Church was to reach the man in the street,

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the tremendous number outside the Christian Church, her ministers and laity must consider the importance of discussing politics in their wider sense. Jesus said, "I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." Politics touched every sphere of human life—how then could the Church refrain from dealing with the social questions of the day? That was the way to win the hearts of men, through the Church identifying herself with their troubles and problems. The Commission's recommendations might bring a tremendous change. First of all, many of our Churches would be emptied, and refilled by an entirely new set of men and women. At present Christ was outside the doors of many of His Churches. Christ Himself could not fail, but His representatives in Christian organisations to-day had failed by creating a wall of division between Him and the people of the world.

Rev. F. T. WALKER (Sydney) said that in Australia they had a teaching that ruled God out. He referred to p. 52, sub-section 1. The secret of the solution of the problem and the keynote of the Church's social function was that it should get into touch with industrial groups and remind them that Christ was the first democrat, standing in the midst not for what He could get but for what He could give. The thing to remember was that all men admired Christ, whether they were Christians or not.

Mr. FERDINAND LAUN (Germany) suggested that the time had come to stop talking against other countries. He had been very sorry to hear things

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said against Germany in this Conference which had nearly killed the plant of pacifism and love and peace growing in his heart. Let us forget the things that ended five years ago, or we could never carry out the principles of peace. Above all, let us not speak of things of which we had no personal knowledge. "I am going to the clergymen in Germany and promise I will speak the truth about the English people. If you will do the same we shall not have another war."

Mr. A. G. PITE, M.C. (London—Student Christian Movement), suggested that a young man most needed fellowship when he went to his work. The Church must not only encourage the naturally strong, but protect the naturally weak, by going with him into the mine, the office, the workshop. It was absurd that so much should be spent by the Church on the upkeep of buildings and services, and so little in understanding the moral life of a coal-mine, for instance. Results came not simply from seeing the truth, but from wanting to act upon it, to worship God because of it. Unless this was the effect upon us of the things learnt this week, we should wait before taking action upon them.

He stressed the necessity of making the truth plain to simple folk, to uneducated and sinners, otherwise we might not open the door of the Kingdom, but close it a little.

Rev. P. E. T. WIDDRINGTON (Dunmow—League of the Kingdom of God) spoke to p. 66, on topics for preaching and instruction. The passage, he said, expressed the real meaning of this great assembly. The most striking thing at the present time was not

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the failure but the tremendous potentiality of the Church, the tremendous power waiting to be used. Why was it not being used? Because we had first to teach ourselves the fuller meaning of sin. He was sorry the Commission hesitated to speak of corporate penitence. This had a new sense in Christ, quite different from blaming others. It means reparation for the sin of the world.

Mr. MAURICE B. RECKITT (Byfleet—Member of Politics Commission) considered this Report the most important, as all the others depended on it for their application. The most important sentence, in his judgment was that on p. 157 concerning the creation of a body for Christian research. Connected with this should be the nucleus of a thinking order. It was an enormous job, but if we missed this opportunity we might never get it again. Three things were needed to give people some idea of a Christian world order. Many found it difficult not so much to choose as to distinguish between God and Mammon. They seemed to live at the same address. Next they wanted clear guidance for individuals in their daily life. This used to be a function of the Church, but we had passed from personal to impersonal relations. Last, we needed ground for Christian action at great crises. If action be taken now it is too often either not well-grounded or too late. We need direction, but as things are it might be more disastrous if we did have it. The great need was for adequate research.

Mr. R. H. W. ROBERTS (Industrial Christian Fellowship) said we must create such a conscience within the Churches that we could get action.

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Those present were far above the average of their members in these things. Christian Churches have got to be Christian. This rests first of all with priest and minister. There must be better discipline also. We are all grieved and take action if a man runs away with another's wife; we must make it also clear that it is a reproach to the fair name of Christ to be a bad landlord, etc. Ministers must be honest and say, "Unless religion goes in this place, I go." He pleaded also for united Christian witness in the open air.

Professor W. H. MOBERLEY (Birmingham) referred to war as the most conspicuous recent cause of our failure. The true reason why the Church had not spoken with a clear voice was that we did not know sufficiently what we thought about God. The great lack was constructive theology. The chief social function of the Church in the future was to think out reasons and provide a constructive theology which would help men to do their duty and solve their social problems. We could not act effectively in the social sphere without some doctrine. There was the old controversy about free-will: we shirked it, but it is still most important. Then the question of the true relation between the revelation of God in the Old Testament and the revelation of Him in Jesus Christ. Does the latter supersede or fulfil? This is vital to practical application. The only way we should get our theology was not simply through isolated thinkers, but as the outcome of living the corporate life, and the bringing together of many view-points in a Conference like Copec.

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Rev. G. A. STUDDERT-KENNEDY (London—Industrial Christian Fellowship) referred to pp. 153–158, on the co-ordination of the social functions of the Church. He spoke of the overlapping of many societies, all needing money. This was dishonest and wasteful, and added to the strife of tongues. We needed a co-ordinating body to act as liaison between societies, the pooling of information.

Our theology was as rotten as it could be, and this co-ordinating body ought to be set to collect facts on which to base a sound structure. It should link up the Church and the existing reliable research bureaus of a secular character. It would need a general secretary, an office secretary and a research secretary.

Mr. J. ROWNTREE GILLET (London—Society of Friends) drew attention to p. 193, the second Recommendation. The age demanded to know what a Christlike society would be. He suggested that one great principle of it, which the Church should teach, would be the liberty of all its citizens. Women would have an equal position with men in the service of Christ and the Church, and the Christian industrial order would be organised on democratic principles. The Church had to preach the establishment of the principles of liberty on our political institutions and our Church life, and also our industrial life.

Lord TAVISTOCK (Havant—Y.M.C.A.) said that many of the clergy did not recognise the limited vocabulary of the masses. This was a bad handicap to real fellowship. They should take as their prayer one that in its original form had not found favour

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with many in that Conference and transform it into, "God, who made me simple, make me simpler yet!" "Ask the average man to explain a page of the New Testament—or your own sermon! It is not their fault, but the unfairness of our education. Perhaps when that unfairness is remedied they will understand that page of one of the Reports that speaks of 'synoptic criticism,' 'eschatological colouring,' and 'immanental teleology'!"

Dr. GARVIE quoted the saying of Our Lord, "Without Me ye can do nothing," and said the social function of the Church would be discharged only in the measure in which her spiritual power was increased.

EVENING SESSION

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

Prof. J. VERNON BARTLET, D.D. (Member of the Commission) introduced Recommendation 7, on the Training of the Ministry.

"The Church's special ministers are the key to the problem how Christians at large can be got to realise aright the social function of the Church. For they are the Church's normal organ of instruction, by which God's truth has to form Christians' ideals and enlarge their sense of duty to God and man. If, then, 'the Truth for Social Life' as part of the Church's preaching and teaching is to take effect generally, very much depends upon how the rising generation of its ministry are themselves

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taught to view the Gospel as containing implicitly God's truth for human life, in all its full range of meaning. It is for them, above all men, to assimilate the findings of our Reports, as a single organism of principles and their concrete applications. But if so, they must be set on the way of so doing during their period of special training, ere they become involved in the multifarious details of ministerial routine.

“The special need to-day is for correlation and co-operation of Christian religion and Social Science, understood in a large and humane sense. Dr. Charles Ellwood, in his recent work, *Christianity and Social Science*, is convinced that our best hope for social salvation and reconstruction—terms which no longer seem too strong to describe the actual need—lies in a growing sense, alike among Christians and Sociologists as such, that they have a common task, and that only by their working as conscious allies can it be fulfilled at all. The difference between their aims is a difference of means rather than of ends. The end, both see more and more clearly, is a Commonwealth of persons, in which all material things and values shall be viewed and used as means to the furtherance of personality in each and all. This is what ‘the Kingdom of God’ on earth is coming increasingly to mean to Christians. Definition of the outward conditions of a truly social life belongs largely to the task of social science: to the Church, as the nucleus and organ of the Kingdom of God, it falls to supply the motive power needful to the efforts and sacrifices involved in its realisation.

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“How can we describe the prime function of ministerial training better than by saying that it is to teach men to look on themselves and their fellows as through the eyes of Jesus Christ? So to view life is to see all men as related to God, as precious in His sight and having a capacity for His life. As the Prime Minister has recently said, ‘the moment that human values are elevated to a divine platform, that moment we attain to the position of moral and spiritual equality’; and that moment, we may add, all that dwarfs and warps the development of human personality—the modern equivalent of ‘soul’ in the Bible—appears in the light of sacrilege. That is one side of the matter. The other side is almost equally essential to the realisation of ‘the Kingdom of God’ as a fellowship of souls sharing in a Divine life: to wit, knowledge of the social means needful to its coming to be, in a world of matter and of time. The specialised study, social science, has recently attained more precise results as to the actual effects of given causes, and so presents a body of exact knowledge such as was not before available to social reformers. Such knowledge is power of its own kind. Our plain duty is to wed the new science of general social laws, so far as ascertained, to the dynamic motives furnished by the insight which the Gospel brings with it as to the Divine meaning of human personality, everywhere and always. Such a fresh approach will also give fresh actuality to that great idea itself, and to theological study generally.

“But how is this possible in the crowded curriculum of a theological college? In the last resort,

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only through a vital sense of the relative values of the elements of ministerial training, as well as through a more vital way of dealing with them. More emphasis must be laid on the things most relevant to the actual situation to-day, both psychological and material. Christian ethics, individual and social, treated on a biblical basis and in a modern spirit, should enter seriously into the training; and that so as to lead on naturally to a study of social and industrial institutions, as conditioning, whether as helps or hindrances, the development of personality in all members of society. Such study should be both theoretical and practical. As practical, it should include not only some personal contact with social and industrial conditions in town and country, but also some account of the actual industrial system in both, as also of municipal and other local institutions, as means to the betterment of the bodies and minds of all citizens. By such study, carried on in an atmosphere of really Christian principle and feeling, men should be raised above the warping influence of class prejudices of all sorts. For, to quote the Prime Minister once more, 'the idea of class is poisonous to the social mind'; and the greatest solvent of it is the Christian idea of personality, as something that is the birthright of all members of the body politic, existing as it does for mutual aid and service in all manifest well-being. Another result of the Christian minister's training should be that he, of all men, stand free from the partisan spirit; for he is essentially representative of all his people, rich and poor, employers and employees, among whom are or

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should be those of all functions in the co-operative life of the community. He ought also to be able to sympathise with each in his several lot, and to give counsel as to Christian conduct to all sorts and conditions of men amid the complex social conditions of modern life.

“It is with such considerations as the above in mind that the suggestions of the Report on the Training of the Ministry are tendered, partly in more detailed form (Vol. XI, pp. 124-127), and partly among the principal Recommendations drawn up by the Committee on ‘The Social Function of the Church’ (Sec. xii. 7). As regards the former, it is hoped that every College will ask itself, ‘Recognising the urgency of the matter, how many of these methods are relevant to us, and can by us be adopted forthwith?’ and will act promptly on its deliberate decisions. As regards the latter, the most practical and strongly emphasised suggestion of all is ‘a panel of competent visiting teachers on these subjects, jointly commissioned and jointly used by all our denominations.’ This would solve the great financial difficulty, and would bring expert teaching, both theoretical and practical, within the reach of all colleges alike—those which otherwise make minimum provision themselves, no less than those which have the maximum. That is a very great advantage. The proposal is framed on the analogy of what has been done in the case of Missionary Training, as an outcome of the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, which has been in general the model followed by Copec. Accordingly, our confident hope is that such a panel will be one of the

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first practical fruits of this week's Conference, especially if the general suggestion of a Research Department of the Churches for Social Questions (157 f.) be also carried out."

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF LICHFIELD, reintroducing the discussion, commended all the Reports as excellent material for text-books at Diocesan and other Training Colleges. Many Churches provide libraries for use by adherents and others have bookstalls. He hoped that in these ways the Reports might be spread among their congregations.

The discussion so far had brought us to the position that our first job is to be penitent ourselves. He would not quarrel with the phrase "corporate penitence" so long as it did not tacitly put it on someone else. We must keep on educating our people, Churches and congregations. He hoped that would not mean, as had been said, getting rid of them but converting them. Last Sunday, after his sermon, a friend heard the comment, "Hm! a pretty sort of Socialism the Bishop is preaching!" That man needed converting. But also, a short time back he was preaching to a congregation of respectable people, who afterwards accompanied him in a body to hold a service in the open air.

He would particularly commend that section in the Report which treated of the Church itself as an example of fellowship. He was uncertain which was the greater stumbling-block—the inconsistency of individual Christians or the absence of fellowship in Churches.

When all is said and done, there remains the

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relation between the Church and politics. Many minds are not very clear. He heard a Lord Mayor say recently, "As Lord Mayor I have neither religion nor politics." None of us here believe we can keep any secular matter free from religious influence. The recent utterances of Lord Birkenhead had called out protests from practically all pulpits.

There were many who feared that, beautiful as our ideals might be, our plans would be wrecked on the rocks of human nature. But true human nature is not what we see in men; that is perverted. The real human nature is seen in our Lord. Yes, they say, but it is with men we have to deal, and you cannot change the nature of men. If that be true then Christianity is a lie, for it is exactly to work this change that our Lord came. And it can be done: it is being done every day; if we are not ourselves being changed into His nature, there is something wrong. Not only is the Church to witness to the truth but to supply the grace by which men and women can live according to truth. What we are up against is the huge inertia and resistance to the good. The power to overcome that is the dynamic force of Divine Grace.

When laymen complain that we deal badly with economics and politics, they mean that we have to do a great deal more hard thinking before we can handle these matters effectively. That is true. But that truth cuts the other way also. What we complain of in many scientists is that they tack on to their science a rotten philosophy.

Then there are those who reproach us for being

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out to increase the outer comfort and physical health, and thinking that the Kingdom of God comes in those ways. But the social function of the Church is to provide and point the way to those infinite resources of love and power without which all the work of the past week will be attempted in vain. Can we lightly get rid of the lust that wrecks homes, the hatred and greed that wreck industry? The Church must not only witness to the Truth but must supply the power of the Divine Grace.

Discussion

Mr. R. H. LAWSON SLATER (Cambridge—Student Christian Movement) stated as the result of an inquiry that students in theological colleges did not find the present teaching on social questions adequate, but were not unanimous as to the need for more, as it was so difficult to squeeze it into the time of the course. One college had suggested an itinerant order of economic experts, another advocated the use of student specialists themselves, another suggested that the real crux was practical work. One suggested "Toc H." as a vacation residence for students. Many students, on the threshold of facing the big facts of life, wanted not a crowded curriculum, but more time for real thought on one or two main problems.

Mr. MALCOLM McARA (Westminster College) disagreed with the introduction of any course of Christian Sociology. The indifference of the modern minister to social problems had been due to the general unsoundness of his theological training.

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Rather than adding to our curricula, it would be wiser to teach the present subjects more soundly. The college should give the student critical understanding of problems. How could a man study Amos and other prophets without being brought up against our problems this week?

Rev. Principal JOHN OMAN, D.D. (Westminster College, Cambridge), deprecated the teaching of second-hand knowledge. The colleges did not leave the economic questions entirely outside, but tried to bring the students face to face with them. The great danger was that the leaders of Church and State were chosen on the platform or pulpit principle, by the mass mind, and responsible to the mass mind.

The first-hand student was not tempted to state things on his own authority. We were so weak to-day because so many minds believed that the spiritual world did not exist at all. The Church did not really live in the world at all. If it did, it would then be able to do its other business. The movements of thought around us gave us the means of dealing with problems, but unhappily our students could not use this fact. Here we represented the Church universal, and it was more important to find a link of unity than anything else.

Rev. J. H. WARD (Manchester—Copec Committee), speaking neither as a student nor teacher, but one going about among ordinary men, said Copec had been made a necessity by the divorce of the Church's teaching from politics, economics and citizenship, thanks to the existence of the professional type of mind within the Church. The

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great need was to get rid of this dangerous type of mind, which the working men were up against. The way to get rid of it was to substitute another type—the truly scientific. We must turn out our theological students as they should be turned out, with minds capable of analysing the situation and taking facts and drawing theories from them. We must have the scientific mind, if we wanted a creative ministry to influence congregations to believe in the Church of God as a progressive institution.

Rev. A. H. GRAY, D.D. (Member of Sex Commission) also urged the necessity of having men in our pulpits who knew the real facts of British life to-day, and stressed the importance of using the laity more extensively, because of the authority with which they could speak. We had grossly neglected the aid of women, who were peculiarly qualified to contribute on many subjects.

Dr. Gray suggested group conferences among the laity, to find out the Christian way of carrying on particular forms of business.

Rev. Principal A. R. HENDERSON, D.D. (Nottingham College), touched on the Church's lack of contact with the world. It could only be established through the leaders who gave public expression to our faith. The time had come for a new department of training for the ministry, namely, a knowledge of the environment in which the Gospel had to be preached. A chair of sociology was very greatly needed, and had been established most usefully in the speaker's own college, in conjunction with practical work for the students. How could

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we get the time? He made the daring suggestion that we should take for Hebrew only the time necessary to teach the amount most ministers remembered after twenty years. The saddest thing about the ministry was that so many men grew stale, because they lacked touch with actual men.

Mr. ISAIAH WILCOX (Nottingham—Adult School Union) said most of the people in the country were waiting for the Church to lead them into a new social order. Politics could not do it. It could be done on the basis of Copec.

Rev. Canon SPENCER H. ELLIOTT (Sheffield Diocesan Conference) discussed the immense importance of the Press, which went down to every heart and every subject. Every home was influenced by it, it was the relaxation of leisure hours, and it formed public opinion on industrial and international problems. He gave examples from Sheffield of failure of the Press to voice the feelings and needs of the unemployed or to explain to them what they should know. He got a hard-pressed and excited crowd into the Church and talked things over. He reminded his hearers of the duty of catechising, and said that if a parson did his job properly, that would give ample opportunity for free speech. That crowd stayed three hours, explaining things. Unless the Press had a terrific conscience about news, one was held up.

Mr. CROFTON E. GANE (Bristol) said the Church recognised unemployment as a disintegrating force upon character. Business men held that probably one prime cause of unemployment was our loss of

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the lead over other nations. We must concentrate on research, originality, discovery and superior goods, and we must encourage craftsmanship. The dominance of machinery in our social life was a serious thing, dehumanising men and women. We had to reconstruct our industrial position. He laid stress on the importance of human personality, and said the Church should appeal to people, not to join one particular faction, but to help in the attempt to uplift social life.

Mr. GEORGE PEVERETT (London—Adult School Union) said we ought to call on our voluntary Church workers to do their jobs as thoroughly as though they were paid. Slipshod service repelled business men. Many philanthropic societies and Churches were employers of sweated labour, which was a disgrace. The Church should rid herself of her reputation for being a bad employer.

If the statements on p. 135 were true, we must set our house in order first. The Church ought at least to be as honest as limited companies or friendly societies. Many people outside were saying what the Report said.

The CHAIRMAN declared the chief cause of the lack of ease and freedom in clergymen was lack of grip on their own job, their own theology and their gospel. Inadequate professional training was the cause of bad churchmanship.

Rev. Dr. HARRY MILLER, D.D., C.B.E., summing up, said the Church of Christ depended on the firmness of her grasp on the truth of God Himself. Some people said that the duty of the Church was not to concern herself with social problems but to

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convert unbelievers and create a body of individual believers. She could not do the latter without doing the former.

He regretted that the section on Foreign Missions had not been discussed. He had been in contact with groups of Indian and West African students and had learnt that the conditions in which we were working out our industrial problems were creating a most grave rebellion in their minds against our religious faith. If one's religion did not lead one passionately to work for a change of those conditions, what was it worth? He commended for study the Foreign Mission Supplement to the Report. It was too largely ignored that large numbers of those to whom our missionaries preached were very conversant with the conditions of Edinburgh slums, for example. Are not these intimately concerned with Christian civilisation?

Sometimes one was troubled as to whether one's place in the Church was to work silently or to teach, but we should remember that most of us represented a forward mind and movement in the Churches to which we belonged, and were rather in advance of the rank and file. He told the story of a child who, as they were dramatising the miraculous draught of fishes, asked, "Is I a fish or is I a disciple?" Many might well ask themselves that question.

It was often said that the Church was weary and disheartened. As far as that was true, it was because she was rowing against the wind and had not realised that her Lord was not coming across the water towards her but was aboard the ship.

Dr. Miller referred to the solemn coincidence of

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Copec with the approach of Holy Week and Easter. If the Conference ended in talk, it had better never have been held. We had to carry the message of Copec away with us.

Rev. Dr. LYNCH (New York) spoke on the work of the World Conference on the Life and Work of the Church, and brought greetings from Avenue Church, New York.

The Most Rev. THE ARCHBISHOP OF UPSALA also spoke on this World Conference, as chairman of the International Committee. He said that Copec had given a new word to the English language. He would make three points. (1) He commended the admirable Reports. (2) The Conference had shortened the way between faith and action. The way was perhaps shorter for English and American Churches than for others. (3) Copec has made Christians uncomfortable, and that is often the best service that can be given to a man.

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SATURDAY MORNING

The Rt. Rev. the BISHOP OF MANCHESTER presiding.

The prayers were conducted by the Rt. Rev. BISHOP HAMILTON BAYNES, D.D.

Mr. J. H. OLDHAM (Secretary of the International Missionary Council) spoke on the relation of Copec to the Foreign Missionary enterprise. He said that Copec filled up what was lacking in the great Edinburgh Conference. The Foreign Missionary movement believed in the Gospel for the world and had extended all over the surface of the globe. But it was incomplete in that the Gospel was not only for every man but for the whole life of men. It had tended to forget the new continents of human life which were not but must be brought to be under the redeeming sway of the Kingdom of God. As with the missionary revival in the nineteenth century, so here we may be on the verge of another great revival of religious life.

But the Foreign Missionary side was equally necessary for the completion of Copec. This was concerned with economics; it was a fundamental fact that all parts of the world were now economic-

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ally interdependent. No country was entirely self-sufficing for raw materials, and the struggle for access to these was one of the principal causes of international strife. Add to these the differences of race and culture and the tension may become intolerable.

Asia and Africa were in revolt against the dominion of the white man. He instanced India and Kenya, where the dangers were very great, though there were materials for hope. Our trusteeship for undeveloped races was still incompletely fulfilled. It could only be fulfilled by our undertaking education and the building up of native life. Peoples must discover how to live together in a world interlinked. All this is impossible in a spirit of hate or ruthless competition. You cannot develop a Christian civilisation under the menace of war and international complications. In a world so full of jarring interests we must create a unity of the Kingdom of God.

Our hope is in the Church of Christ, but that must be something radically different from what the ordinary man or woman visualised as "the Church." Yet it is the Church of Christ, and that alone, that can deal with these problems. There is no solution except as we have in the world a body of people of all races whose minds have been consecrated in dedication to the social purposes of the great Kingdom of God. Two of the prayers offered that morning were of Indian origin. Our whole hope lay in the fact that it is not *our* inspiration or *our* endeavour but the Kingdom of God Himself.

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Rev. C. E. RAVEN, D.D. (Joint Secretary of Copec) said : “ We have been attempting a restatement of the Augustinian City of God. We have seen in this Conference how, in the diverse aspects of our corporate life, we have been led inevitably to the verification of our faith. What we had taken on trust is found to be true in the light of the best understanding and interpretation we can place upon the ascertained facts. We have, as it were, laid down the syllabus wherein the future must write in greater detail. That has been the massive achievement of the Conference.

“ But that achievement has been surpassed by a discovery even greater still—the discovery of our fellowship one with another in Christ. We came doubtful whether units gathered from such different places, with apparently so little to unite, could be gathered into unity in one short week ; whether we might not go away dissatisfied with the result of our discussions.

“ Far from that, we have felt from the first the gift that is greatest—the gift of the presence of God. We have been joined as a battalion about to make attack, united in the fellowship of those threatened with death. A fellowship so strong as to inhibit all that was selfish and to limit our fears : so strong that the most arrogant and aggressive must be constrained and restrained by it. We have been borne along and dedicated in the sacrifice in which alone man attains unity.

“ That unity has at times been in peril, through the clash of diverse convictions, but there has been at those times an uprush of divine unity and—

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through no one in particular—we have been shown the better way.

“It is this conviction of the reality and the splendour of our fellowship which ought to colour all the practical proposals to be put before you by the Reference Committee. Not that we have not been impressed by the substance and worth of these proposals. But it would, I feel, be a mistake if we went away feeling that our main achievement was the passing a few practical resolutions setting up an immediate piece of machinery. These things are important and inevitable, but they are not primary. I have feared lest we might be rushed, through lack of faith and vision, into creating a mere inanimate machine, so that we could say, ‘At least, if we have done no more, we have done a few practical things.’

“All of us have turned instinctively to certain practical things to be done at once—a Research Bureau, an Advisory Committee, local work and so forth. We have by no means abandoned these. But we feel that we must not put the outward before the inward; the material before the spiritual. Is that a lesser thing or vaguer? I think not. Really it is a larger thing, so that as and when these things take shape they shall be a living organism and not a dead bit of mechanism.

“We propose the setting up of a Continuation Committee, sufficiently large to represent both the continuity of the work and the experience Copeck has already gained, giving it power to do what is immediately practical but not fettering too much the child that has been born.

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“There remains now the task of everyone who has been here, for the work of Copec in the next few months and afterwards will not depend solely on that Committee or on any possible Committee. That work is in several directions.

“First, there is the duty of studying the Reports and ensuring their publicity inside and outside the Church. Few have had time to read them all: there has been no time to weigh and consider them.

“Secondly, will you see that this message of ours is made integral to the life of the Church in your own neighbourhood? It may be by denominations or groups or interdenominational Councils: it must be done in all places, those where organisation is strong and in country parts where there is little.

“Thirdly, there is the *transformation of our own lives*, which alone can produce the power to carry this thing through. I have been haunted in these past years by one image of the Master. ‘They were in the way, going up to Jerusalem, and Jesus went before them: and they were amazed.’ You have shared the amazement of the first preparation. We are not too sure where this strange Master is leading us. Are we going to betray Him? The only way of escaping this great betrayal is that for love of Him we are, each one of us, ready to mount the Cross.”

Miss LUCY GARDNER (Secretary) outlined a scheme for organising regional Conferences for spreading the message of Copec. It was hoped that the whole country would be covered in this way. At present Conferences had been arranged

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for Ipswich (May 12 to 14), Hastings and Bexhill (May 25 to 28), North London (June 15 and 16), Newcastle (October 1 to 5), Sheffield (October 13 to 18), Bradford, for the West Riding (early autumn), Manchester (autumn), Liverpool (late September or early October), Leicester (October), Southampton (late October or early November), Bristol (early December), Croydon and Plymouth. The size of the Conferences did not matter, so long as all the Churches gathered together, after taking time to think the thing thoroughly out.

The CHAIRMAN, on behalf of the Reference Committee, proposed the following Resolution :

“ This Conference hereby resolves that a Committee be appointed—

(1) To carry on such work as may be necessary to fulfil the purpose of Copec in effectively conveying its message to the Churches and the country, and generally in completing such investigations as may be committed to it, and to secure that the influence of Copec shall be made a permanent factor in the thought and life of the Churches represented.

(2) To call into being, when the time seems most opportune, a permanent body to discharge similar functions, and particularly to promote—

(a) National and local interdenominational and denominational co-operation in fulfilling the social obligations of the Church.

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(b) The study of social questions from the Christian standpoint, including research and the distribution of information.

(c) The provision of means for united and authoritative Christian witness on social questions."

Dr. GARVIE seconded, and referred to the prominent part taken by young people at the Conference. It was a sign of great promise for the future. He undertook to spread the message of Copec wherever he went in England to visit the Federations of the Free Church Council. Ireland was already preparing to spread the message, and Scotland was taking very practical steps.

The Resolution was unanimously agreed.

The CHAIRMAN then read the names suggested by the Reference Committee. They included members of the old Executive and of the Commissions, and were drawn from different denominations and different geographical areas. In this informal sense it was more or less representative. Other interests were more complicated: they would not be neglected, but would have to be more carefully considered by the Continuation Committee itself, together with the formation of that possible ultimate body on which representation might be more formal.

The Rev. Henry Carter

Miss H. Cashmore

The Rev. T. E. Clarke

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The Rev. Gwilym Davies
Brig.-General Sir Wyndham Deedes
The Rev. Oliver Dryer

Miss Lucy Gardner
The Rev. Principal A. E. Garvie, D.D.
The Rev. A. Herbert Gray, D.D.

The Rev. Edward E. Hayward
Mr. Fred Hughes

The Rev. Richard Jones

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lichfield
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Liverpool
The Rev. Prof. W. F. Lofthouse, D.D.

The Ven. Archdeacon Macmillan
The Rev. J. P. Malleson
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Manchester
The Rev. Hugh Martin
Mr. H. A. Mess
The Rev. Harry Miller, D.D.
Professor Walter H. Moberley
Mrs. George Morgan
The Rev. Herbert Morgan
Mr. H. J. Morland
Sir Max Muspratt, Bt.

Mr. A. Roland Pelly
Mr. G. Peverett
Miss Mary Phillips
Mrs. William Piercy
The Rev. T. W. Pym

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The Rev. Canon C. E. Raven, D.D.

The Rev. Will Reason

The Rev. Principal T. Rees

The Rev. Ivor J. Robertson, D.D.

The Rev. J. E. Roberts, D.D.

Miss Constance Smith

Miss Helen Spence

The Rev. Malcolm Spencer

The Rev. E. B. Storr

The Rev. C. J. Street

The Rev. C. W. G. Taylor

Mrs. Thorne

The Rev. R. H. Tribe, S.S.M.

The Rev. Francis Underhill

The Rev. David Watson, D.D.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester

Mr. E. F. Wise, C.B.E.

Professor H. G. Wood

The Rev. Canon E. S. Woods

The list was agreed by the Conference.

The special Resolutions as submitted to the Reference Committee were read and accepted.

1. "That the Conference considers that the continual recurrence of unemployment on a large scale, and especially the gravity of it at the present time, constitute a challenge of prime urgency, and calls upon the Government

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either to hold, or to invite and assist the Churches to hold, a searching inquiry into the causes of unemployment. The inquiry to aim at recommending the changes, if any, in our financial, economic and industrial system which are desirable and practicable."

2. "That the Resolution on the Drink Problem adopted in connection with the Report on Leisure be forwarded to the United Temperance Council of the Christian Churches."

3. "That the Resolution demanding the abolition of the Death Penalty be sent to the Home Secretary."

4. "That the Resolution adopted in connection with the Report on the Relation of the Sexes be sent to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the leaders of the other Churches."

5. "That the Continuation Committee be instructed :—

(a) To co-operate with similar groups elsewhere dealing with the menace of Industrialism in the East.

(b) To consider ways of encouraging the practice of adoption (proceedings on Home Report).

(c) To consider action with a view to encouraging wholesome teaching on matters of sex."

Rev. C. J. STREET (Scarborough—Unitarian, Free Christian and Kindred Churches) said the delegates

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for whom he spoke were going to urge their central organisation to give a prominent place to the Copec principle at their May meetings, and that their own Social Service Union should be affiliated to the new Copec organisation.

Mrs. H. H. PLOWDEN (Eastbourne) described the success of the "Junior Copec" and its influence upon Eastbourne children.

Rev. R. D. R. GREENE (Hereford Diocesan Conference) urged picturesque efforts to attract the multitude. He suggested a "Union of all who serve in the service of all who suffer."

Miss HIGSON (Liverpool) pleaded for a lead for those who devoted their lives to the great cause of social purity. The problem was far wider than the mere problem of birth-control, and the regional Conferences should look at it as a whole, especially in relation to the possibilities of self-control.

Mr. H. J. MORLAND (Hon. Treasurer) made a financial statement and appeal. It was estimated that at least £3,000 a year would be needed for the immediate possibilities, and this should be guaranteed for the next three years. About £2,200 was already received or promised.

Votes of thanks were accorded to the Hosts and Hostesses, the Birmingham Committee, the Members of Commissions, the officers and all others through whose labours the success of the Conference had been promoted.

The CHAIRMAN then read, as the final act of the Conference, the Message of the Conference to the

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Churches, which he had prepared at the request of the Reference Committee :

THE MESSAGE OF THE CONFERENCE

“The experience of the Conference has been profound and uplifting. We have been knit together in a spiritual fellowship of amazing depth and closeness. From a quite early stage in our proceedings we have been conscious of one spirit pervading our gatherings and guiding all our minds ; and none of us doubts that this has been in very truth God the Holy Spirit Himself.

“In this fellowship of the Spirit we have had a vision of the Church of Christ, and of God’s purpose for it, more vivid, more rich, more glorious than ever before. We have received a fuller apprehension of the meaning of the salvation offered to the world in the redeeming Love of the Lord Jesus Christ.

“All of this has come home to our souls and consciences in relation to man’s need as a whole, and also in direct relation to those urgent problems which baffle our minds and threaten our civilisation at this time. We claim the attention of all Christian people for the Reports presented to the Conference and for the Resolutions adopted by it. But in particular we have felt the burden of four most urgent needs. We have realised with a fresh intensity the scandal to our civilisation and religion involved in the fact that thousands of our fellow-countrymen are without decent homes, are without work, are without the education that would develop

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their faculties to the full ; and all these crying evils we have seen thrown into prominence against the background of profound anxiety concerning the peace of the world. Alike for those evils and for that anxiety we believe that Jesus Christ offers remedy and redemption. But He offers these through our obedience. He has entrusted His purpose to His Body, the Church ; He waits till we are ready to act and suffer in His Name.

“ This Conference, therefore, calls upon Christian people to do all in their power to find and apply the remedy for recurrent unemployment, to press vigorously for the launching of efficient Housing Schemes, whether centrally or locally, and to secure an immediate extension of educational facilities, especially for the unemployed adolescents, whose case is perhaps the most deplorable of all the deplorable features of our social life to-day. Both for their sake, and with a view to creating more places for adults in the industrial system, we urge the immediate raising of the school-leaving age to sixteen, and the diminution as rapidly as possible of the maximum size of classes.

“ Together with effort to remedy these diseases of our life at home, all Christian people must dedicate themselves to the cause of International Peace, seeking to destroy the passions of envy, fear and suspicion that lead to war, and supporting all endeavours to unite the nations in mutual understanding and good-will. To this end, we specially urge support of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches and of the League of Nations Union.

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“We have realised with a peculiar poignancy the international obligation to promote throughout the world a wholesome standard of social and economic life, and we desire to urge the importance of all Christian people doing their utmost to prevent the introduction into Asiatic or African countries of the evils of our own industrialism. Alike for the sake of those people and for our own, it is essential that a truly human and Christian world-standard of life shall be maintained.

“More is needed than agitation. There must be readiness for real sacrifice. In particular, there must be the sacrifice of time involved in personal service, as, for example, in the promotion of Public Utility Societies for dealing with the supply of houses; and there must be sacrifice of money in the most prosaic and therefore most testing form of increased rates and taxes for such purposes as have been named, readily voted and readily paid. Let no one think this unspiritual. It calls for little devotion of spirit to give generously when imagination is fired or feelings are touched; it takes a deeper dedication to lead us gladly to vote for an increase of public expenditure over which our personal control is slight and indirect. It is true that such expenditure is true economy, the money so spent is more than compensated by the human values secured. Where vital human needs are in question we must be ready for financial sacrifice.

“We have seen afresh the meaning of Christ's Passion. He reigns from the Tree. But He so reigns by winning the allegiance of our hearts that His love has softened. While our hearts remain

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hard He still suffers, but His Kingdom is not yet. In the fellowship of the spirit that has been ours we have heard the call to the Fellowship of the Cross ; and we have been given a fresh certainty that, if in self-dedication we seek to apply the principles of Christ, His power is sufficient, however inadequate our resources may be, and His Kingdom will come on earth as it is in heaven.

“ W. MANCHESTER.”

The Conference was closed with the Benediction.

RESOLUTIONS AS PASSED BY THE CONFERENCE ON THE COMMISSION REPORTS

NOTE.—Resolutions marked * were proposed by the Commissions and amended at the Conference.

Resolutions marked † were proposed at the Conference itself. At the request of some delegates attention is called to the fact that these were necessarily debated without previous opportunity for consideration, and that, while all were undoubtedly carried, in some cases there were considerable minorities, or numbers who did not vote.

EDUCATION

The following summary of the recommendations (pp. 193–206) has been prepared by the Chairman of the Commission of Education.

The Churches should give earnest and continuous attention to the task of educating public opinion to secure :

1. That the teaching vocation be encouraged as a piece of Christian service, that the best men and women be enlisted in that service as teachers, that adequate opportunities be ensured for them to equip themselves in knowledge, trained skill and spiritual understanding, and that such conditions be secured in Schools as shall enable them to give individual attention, to establish personal relationships, and to use free methods of handling both subjects and class.

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2. That religious instruction based on the Bible and leading to a progressive understanding of the right relations of man to God and man to man should form part of the training of all boys and girls, and should be further expressed in some regular form of corporate worship.

That Training Colleges should provide definite instruction in the right way of handling the history of the Hebrews, the narratives of the Gospels, the founding of the Christian Church, the growth of religious thought, and the contributions to it of thinkers and workers of all times.

3. That active support be given to every step towards the establishment of a national system in which :

(a) Education shall be continuous, each stage providing such teaching as shall best prepare the pupil for that which he will next receive ;

(b) All stages up to the age of 18 shall be compulsory for all and open to all, irrespective of financial means and social status, all young people up to that age being brought for this purpose within the purview of the State during the transitional period in which the last stage is for part-time education only ;

(c) Side by side with State-supported Schools and Colleges there shall be recognised a variety of educational establishments which the State or the Local Education Authority shall touch only in order to insist upon inspection by some competent Authority as a guarantee of efficiency ;

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(d) University education shall be secured for all young people who can profit thereby ;

(e) Full recognition shall be given by the Board of Education, Local Education Authorities and the Universities to the place of adult education as a vital part of the national scheme.

4. That the Churches themselves should seek co-operation with other bodies in the general movement of adult education, particularly by encouraging their members to join in such activities, whether as students or teachers.

5. That the increased expenditure of public money, both national and local, involved herein be accepted as an indispensable condition for the social, moral and spiritual progress of the nation.

THE HOME

1. That the building up of Christian homes lies at the root of the social problem, and that it is the duty of Christians to show what Christian family life can and should be when founded on love.* That no ordinary circumstances should be allowed to interfere with daily family worship.

2. That Christians should work to secure for others the necessities and comforts of home which they enjoy themselves.

3. That it is fundamental to Christianity to regard every personality as of equal value in the sight of God.

4. That Christians cannot tolerate the present

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housing conditions, and that it is the imperative duty of all Christians and all Churches ceaselessly to demand and work, politically and otherwise, for measures which will secure :

(a) that such a number of new houses be built as will completely meet the housing shortage and abolish the slums ;

(b) that all families have adequate means of subsistence and the reasonable comforts and opportunities of life.

THE RELATION OF THE SEXES

1. That this Conference holds that it is the duty of the Christian Church to uphold before society the Christian standard of purity and the Christian ideal of love, as equally binding on both sexes ; and to inspire the minds of men and women with the conviction that the functions of sex are the gift of God, and when rightly understood and carried out, contribute to the fulfilment of His Holy Will for mankind.

2. That this Conference is of opinion that every local religious community should recognise the responsibility of making provision that the young people whom it regards as committed to its care should receive adequate instruction in matters relating to sex, suitable to their age and circumstances, and that this instruction should do justice both to the facts and to the religious significance of the functions of sex.

3. That careful and systematic provision should be made that the nature of Christian Marriage, with its possibilities and responsibilities, should be brought

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before all young people connected with the Church.

4. That opportunities for healthy recreation and enjoyment and interest should be available for all members of society; that it should be possible for young people of both sexes to enjoy social intercourse together otherwise than in the streets, over-crowded homes or undesirable places of entertainment; and that it is the duty of the Christian Churches to support and, where necessary, to initiate movements directed to these ends.

5. That in the attempt to help those who have succumbed to temptation and who are at present treated as outcasts by society, the Christian Church should not rest satisfied with anything short of their complete restoration to normal social life; and that it should labour to remove the temptations to vice that exist in the social life of to-day.

6. That the Christian Church should unhesitatingly affirm the possibility and the duty of chastity, both for men and women.

7. That this Conference protests against all forms of regulation of Prostitution by the State.

†8. In view of the difficulty of the moral issues involved in the practice of conception control in marriage, and especially the use for this end of contraceptives, the Conference urges the Churches here represented either severally or unitedly to investigate thoroughly and to consider with the intention of offering definite guidance to perplexed consciences on these and other relevant questions regarding marriage and parenthood. It would meanwhile lay emphasis on the privileges and obligations of Christian parenthood.

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LEISURE

1. That Leisure is a part of God's positive purpose for men and women in the development of personality; not only a means of keeping fit for the daily toil. Christians, therefore, both individually and corporately, should work to secure for all people, in the appropriate ways :

(a) Adequate leisure time, both in daily life and by holiday periods, without loss of income.

(b) Good housing conditions, ample provision of open spaces and playing-fields, and practical organisation of recreations; *e.g.* by village Institutes, co-operative holiday associations and Guest Houses.

(c) Means and opportunities for appreciating and taking part in community music, drama, folk-dancing and the other arts; also setting a standard in the drama, cinema and other public performances, at once independent of and helpful to those provided on a commercial basis.

2. That the Christian Sunday—the Lord's Day—which we distinguish from the Jewish Sabbath, is needed by the spiritual nature of man for rest and recreation in the highest sense, in which, for Christians, worship will take a foremost place. The day should be freed from merely negative prohibitions, and social arrangements should secure for all the opportunity to use it in the way that seems best to them, with the minimum encroachment on the liberty and leisure of others.

3. That gambling, with its anti-social tendencies

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and results, should be combated by more effective educational methods, by better control of the Press, and especially by such social reconstruction as will bring a healthier zest and colour to life : also, that no countenance should be given to it in Christian organisations, as in the holding of lotteries, raffles and similar appeals to the gambling spirit.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE SECTION OF THE REPORT DEALING WITH THE DRINK PROBLEM

1. Inasmuch as Temperance reform depends upon an informed public opinion, efforts should be made by the Churches to bring to the knowledge of the public the assured facts concerning the nature and effects of alcohol, and in particular, the Churches should endeavour to secure that the Board of Education Syllabus, "The Hygiene of Food and Drink," becomes a part of the curriculum in all Elementary Schools, and that suitable provision is made for teaching on the subject in Secondary Schools, Public Schools, and Colleges.

2. Christian people should press for a measure of Local Option conferring on the inhabitants of local areas the right of choosing, through a direct vote, between the four broad alternatives of :

- (a) the present system ;
- (b) no licence ;
- * (c) diminution of licences ;
- (d) reorganisation, involving the elimination of private interests, and the taking over of the trade in intoxicants, and a stringent control of the traffic in the area by a statutory board.

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3. In view of the fact that the solution of the drink problem is impossible apart from a general advancement in social well-being, the Churches are urged, in the interests of Temperance Reform, to support all measures of social advance, particularly those relating to housing, education, conditions of employment and the provision of wholesome social interests.

THE TREATMENT OF CRIME

This Conference accepts the report of "The Treatment of Crime," and would urge upon all Christians, corporately and individually, the duty of :

1. Promoting a deeper and more thorough study of the causes of crime, and of the principles which should govern all treatment of offenders and criminals ;

2. Working to remove the social evils which are direct incentives to crime ;

3. Interesting themselves and others in the actual work and experiments being made by prison and other authorities, who are hindered and prevented, through lack of whole-hearted public opinion and support, from carrying into effect measures and reforms of real improvement and advance, and for which, in many cases, fresh legislation is unnecessary.

4. Recognising their responsibility not only for the prevention and treatment of crime, but also for the restoration of offenders to their place in the Christian society.

†5. That this Conference is of the opinion that the business of the Christian community is to redeem the

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offender, and therefore urges the Reference Committee to send a memorial to the Home Secretary asking the abolition of the death penalty.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The Christian faith is fundamentally opposed to the spirit of imperialism as expressed in desire of conquest, the maintenance of prestige, or the pursuit, in other forms, of the selfish interests of one nation at the expense of another. This Conference registers its strong opinion that Christian Churches should refrain absolutely from associating themselves with any policy conceived in this spirit.

2. From a healthy national patriotism should be evolved the spirit of international co-operation. Unity must be sought in variety, not in uniformity.

3. Moral principles accepted by Christians as binding between individuals in their political, economic, and social relations should be no less obligatory on nations in their dealings with each other, and on the individuals of the same nation and community in their relations with those of another nation.

4. The Conference accepts the doctrine of universal brotherhood and its implications. It therefore recognises the obligation on Christian nations, no less than on individuals, to utilise their surplus resources over and above those proportionally necessary for their own use in assisting those nations, who, for whatsoever reason, are less well supplied with this world's goods, particularly those who are the victims of any special misfortune or disaster.

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*5. In international as well as in national relationships, the methods and results of industry and commerce must be judged by their contribution to the service of mankind. The Conference expresses its concern at the grave situation which has resulted from the introduction of Western industrial methods in the East, and instructs any Committee appointed to carry on the work of the Conference to co-operate with groups in other countries, which are dealing with this problem.

6. In relations between more advanced and less advanced countries, the governing principle should be that of trusteeship. The administration and development of less advanced countries should not be undertaken by any single Power in its individual interest, but as a trust, either directly by a League of Nations, or by one Power acting on behalf of the nations under a Mandate system.

7. The relations of racial, religious, and linguistic minorities within a State should be founded on principles of equality, goodwill, and respect for the creative functioning of each group; and the Christian Churches should do their utmost to see that these principles replace the spirit of jealousy and suspicion, and that public opinion of Christian nations secures their observance throughout the world.

8. The Churches, recognising that the youth of to-day is the nation of to-morrow, should urge that in every type of school an educational policy be carried out, which, while inculcating a loving service of country, should work for the development of a spirit of world brotherhood amongst the children, as amongst the adults, of all nations.

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9. Whereas the principles embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations, carried out in the spirit and in the letter, will promote international peace, the Churches should regard it as their particular care to assist the development of the work of the League by promoting such an atmosphere of goodwill amongst men as will enable the League to secure the full application of these principles.

10. In view of the present world situation, the Conference urges the imperative need for the Churches to use all their resources and influence to create a public opinion which will secure that the principles embodied in these resolutions form the basis of international policy. To this end it would commend the work of all such Christian agencies as promote goodwill between nations and races : it would specially call attention to the work of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches, in that it brings together the representatives of the various Christian Communion as such, and secures their co-operation all over the earth in cultivating the spirit necessary to peace.

Above all, is there need that the Christian Church should unceasingly and faithfully explore and, at whatever cost, unflinchingly proclaim all that is involved for international and interracial relationships in the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

CHRISTIANITY AND WAR

The Conference recommends :

†1. That all war is contrary to the spirit and

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teaching of Jesus Christ, and that, therefore, in time of war more than ever the Church of Christ must witness and labour for the Christian way of life against hatred and cruelty and for pity and helpfulness; it must resolutely seek to assuage passion and prejudice, and encourage that sensitiveness to truth and that Christian temper which effect a real and lasting pacification.

2. That the Christian Churches should in their public testimony and with all their influence oppose all policies that provoke war, and support all conditions in the relation of nations favourable to peace, and the agencies which promote peace.

3. That they should unreservedly condemn, and refuse to support in any way, a war waged before the matter in dispute has been submitted to an arbitral tribunal, or in defiance of the decision of such a tribunal.

4. That they should exert all their authority in securing protection from any form of persecution for those whose conscience forbids their rendering any kind of war-service.

5. That by study of the New Testament in the light of the guidance of the Spirit, they should seek to reach a common Christian conscience in regard to war.

6. That they should cultivate such intimate fellowship with the Churches of other lands that through the one Church of Jesus Christ the spirit of reconciliation shall triumph over all national prejudices, suspicions, and enmities, and that the Churches of many lands may unitedly formulate a Peace Programme which can be commended to all

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who profess and call themselves Christian, so that Christ shall reign as Prince of Peace.

7. That the Churches should hold these principles, not only in times of peace, when their practical denial is not threatened, but that also, when war is imminent, they should dare to take an independent stand for righteousness and peace, even if the Press and public opinion be at the time against them.

INDUSTRY AND PROPERTY

*1. The aim of Christians with regard to industry, commerce and finance should be to procure the predominance of the motive of service over the motive of gain.

2. Industry should be a co-operative effort adequately to supply the needs of all. This does not involve one particular type of organisation universally applied. It does involve a perpetual effort to find the organisation best suited to each industry.

3. Industry should be so organised that all those engaged in it shall have an increasingly effective voice in determining the conditions of their work and lives.

4. The first charge on industry should be a remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and dignity.

5. The evils of unemployment are intolerable to the moral sense. The causes must be sought and removed.

6. Extremes of wealth and poverty are likewise intolerable. A Christian order involves a juster distribution.

7. The moral justification of the various rights

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which constitute property depends on the degree to which they contribute to the development of personality and to the good of the whole community. If such rights subserve those purposes they deserve the approval of Christians : if not, they should be modified or abolished.

8. The duty of service is equally obligatory upon all. No inherited wealth or position can dispense any member of the Christian society from establishing by service his claim to maintenance.

9. The Conference considers that the continual recurrence of unemployment on a large scale, and especially the gravity of it at the present time, constitute a challenge of primary urgency, and calls upon the Government either to hold, or to invite and assist the Christian Churches to hold, a searching enquiry into the Causes of Unemployment. The enquiry to aim at recommending the changes, if any, in our financial, economic and industrial system which are desirable and practicable.

POLITICS AND CITIZENSHIP

*I. AUTHORITY AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STATE

The purpose of the State is to bind men together in a justly ordered social life, and its authority ought to be generally accepted by Christians. The duties of citizenship are a sacred obligation for Christian people. The authority of the State is limited by its functions, and ought to be challenged by the Christian conscience only in the name of God. Christians should be willing while their strength lasts to spend and be spent in its service.

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2. CLASS DISTINCTIONS

The Church must approach the difficult question of class distinction from the point of view that, for the Christian, there is "neither Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." In modern language, there can be no class distinctions in the Church. This principle no doubt applies in a peculiar degree to the Church, but the Church, in its effort to realise a more Christian order of society in the world around it, must use its influence against any recognition of class distinctions which might offer an obstacle to true social communion.

3. CHRISTIAN SERVICE IN NATIONAL AND LOCAL POLITICS

The Church should recognise the call to Christian service which exists in national politics, in local government, and in organised philanthropic and social work. These claims should be kept before all Christian congregations. The need for a high standard of preparation for such work should also be consistently urged, and for this purpose the formation of inter-party groups for the study of subjects of current political discussion from a Christian standpoint should be encouraged.

4. THE PRESS

Christians, individually and corporately, should use their influence in favour of a Press which not only presents accurate news, unbiased by editorial policy, but also provides, so far as possible, all the materials necessary to enable the public to arrive

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at well-informed opinion on public policy both at home and abroad.

5. EVILS OF THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION

Christians must do their utmost to foster the growth of a more healthy public opinion which will no longer tolerate the undue prominence given to sensational details of the divorce courts and of sordid vice, the incentives to wholesale betting and gambling, the vulgarity of much advertisement, and the exaltation of false values, which at present largely distort much in modern journalism and magazines.

APPENDIX

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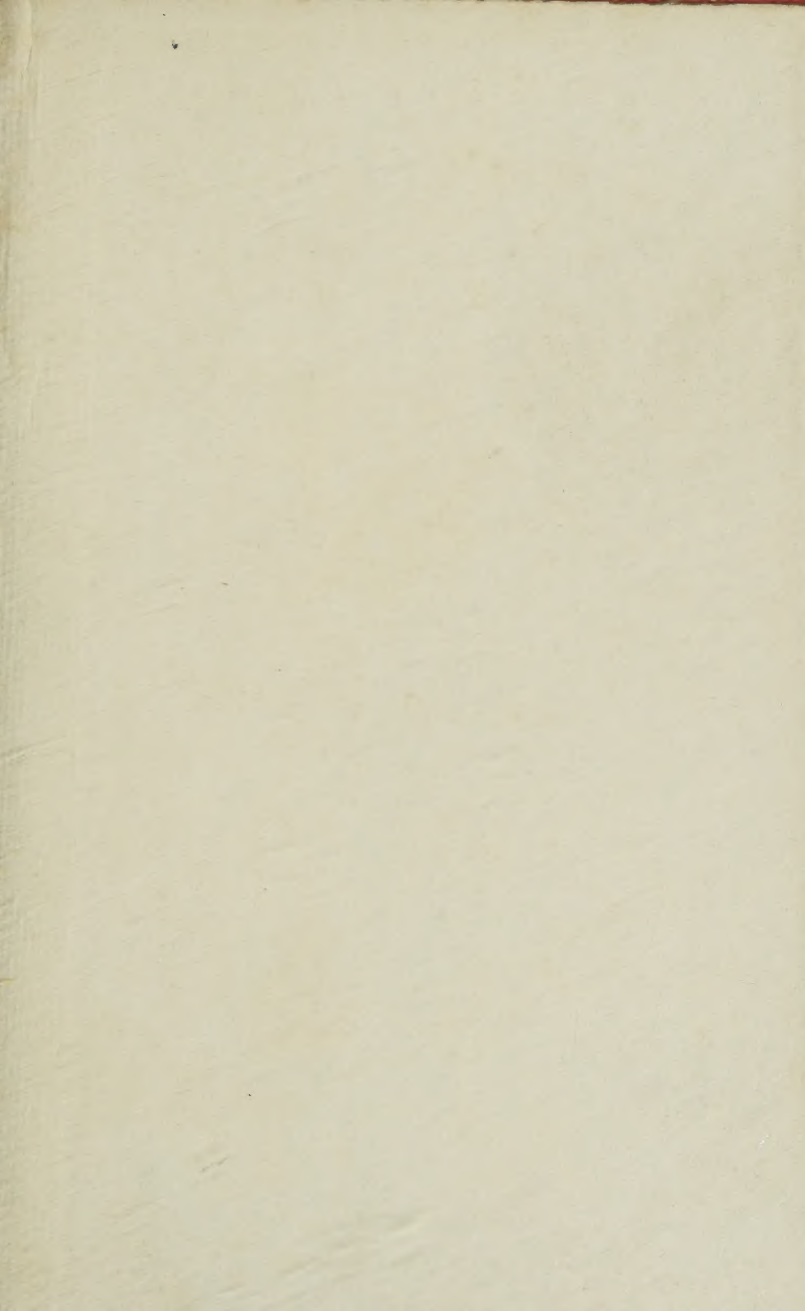
† Resigned before the Conference.

SOME CROSS-REFERENCES

(NOTE: In the absence of a complete index to the Commission Reports, which is impracticable, the following list of special subjects, though scanty and incomplete, may be found useful.)

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